/5 cont./

101 171 197 /footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative. I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

● 133 [101] A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Bu^{c}anfir, in Ud Bessebâ^{c}, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his *Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas* /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

[1] [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

/7 cont./

133 [126] /footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the (487) Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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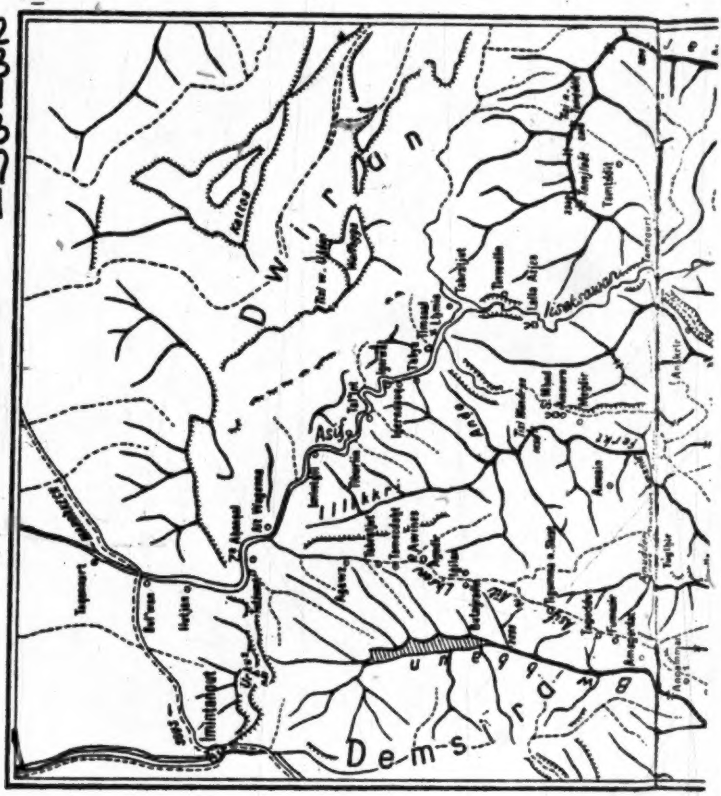
2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
● 133
487
361


Tagounort
Marrakech
Imintanout
Hotjan
Abanogal
Ait Wagenna
Asif
Agowz
Tabrātjet
Awines
Agadir
Ta'lat
Igoradi
Tabya
Timsaal
Lhmia
Tabrātjet
Tinwalin
Lalla Aziza
Tizi Wandras
Magdir
Asmain
Farkt
Tamzgurt
Tamjladt
Tamtddit
D w i r a n
D e m s i r a
B w g g u n
Kattos
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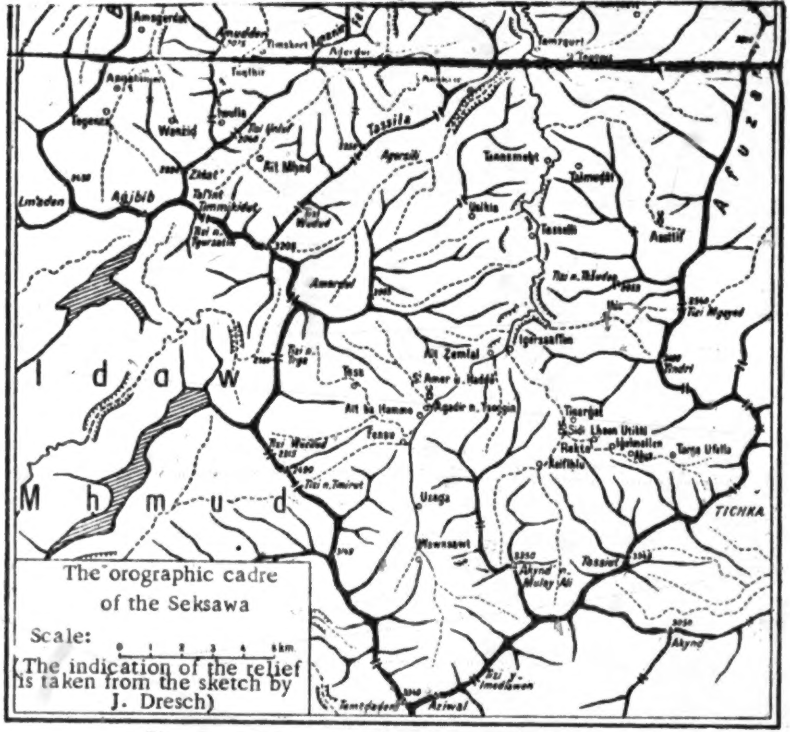
The orographic cadre of the Seksawa
Scale:
0 1 2 3 4 5 km
(The indication of the relief is taken from the sketch by J. Dresch)
Amagordat
Timskert
Afordar
Tamrgurt
Agadir
Tagafilt
Tagenza
Wonzid
Tizi Undaf
Ait Mhyad
Tassila
Agersifi
Tanasmeht
Taimadit
Zibbat
Lm'aden
Adjibib
Tassafit
Asttif
Tizi n. Tagurzatin
Tizi Wiudud
Amarzgal
Tizi n. Tiudsa
Tizi Mgagal
Igersaaffin
Ait Zemlal
Tizi n. Tugga
Tissa
S' Amer u. Haddu
Agadir n. Tsugga
Ait bu Hammu
Tasagat
Sidi Lhsen Utitti
Tizi Wudud
Tizi n. Tmirut
Tanzu
Targa Ufella
Taififala
TICHKA
Usaga
Mawnsawt
Akynd n. Mulay Ali
Tassiet
Akynd
Tizi Imedlawen
Tamtpadeut
Aziwal
I d a w
M h m u d
Afuza

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

000 /*10*/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1).

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/." *Hesp.*, 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his *Rih'la*, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly
485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of
794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a
621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a *madinâ*. He will savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room
000 and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions.
[426] [563] Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3). And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

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[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1),

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'āh'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Māl, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldūn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

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1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to W[illegible]wnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/15 cont./
177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be
subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures,
can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from
bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

• 133

[127]

Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/16 cont./

the layer extends toward the E. to form elements which are not yet apparent from this belvedere, but which we shall rediscover later: the dome of the Urkus, crushing at its feet the center of Imintanout, the low valley of the Seksawa, and the entablatures of the high Dwiran, which slope gradually up to the elevated level stretch of the Azzeq, common for the flocks of Dwiran, Mez'ûd'a and Gedmiwa. Here immediately under our eyes is a glowing tablecloth. It is the Stephano-Trias, found between the primary and secondary rocks and which, thin on this side of the col, spreads out greatly on beyond toward Bigud'in. To the N. and to the E., everywhere, a black country with Cambrian and Ordovician schists. Its squat mass makes up almost all of the upper Seksawa, if one excepts the axial limestones and granites of the Tichka, which one does not see here. These schists shine in the sun, on slopes and ridges, to the point of giving from a distance the illusion of a sweating, of a cascade. From close by, one sees that they are layered, split, divided into leaves and needles. But from a distance their relief is powerful and heavy: a mass morose and without grace, where nothing betrays the bucolic valleys by which it is cut.

Let us transport ourselves to another belvedere, in the heart of Seksawa country this time, on the N. side of the brows of the Mzawt. From there the eye always follows the three hues of the landscape. The view goes down to the basin of the a. Musa, to rise again then to the tabular border of the Dwiran country: Wawmright, Waffagga, and, farther /17/ still, Kattos. At mid-height of these white or golden layers appears the red rock tafzza, which then falls on the marl of Imlilen. At 1,000 meters downward, the river, largely still among the tamarisks of the little plain (940 meters), again finds, immediately after passing the former Suq Lkhmis, toward T'abya, the same heights and somber cliffs as upstream.

The tectonic analysis explains several of the present features by the altering that the folding of the Atlas brought about on a Hercynian relief in the Tertiary. But it is not always easy to determine in the present structures the contributing part of the

/17 cont./

133 two phases, even though their respective style is very different. In fact, the intervention of fractures perpendicular to the axis of the folds can bring more confusion of reading because the general direction of the two movements appears roughly orthogonic: meridian for the socle, W.S.W.-E.N.E. for the altering.

From the Hercynian relief there stands out a parallel series of three anticlinals and especially the action of erosion cycles which have denuded the red lands of the Permo-Trias and leveled the Cretaceous foreland. The existence of the latter, more abundant than in the rest of the Dir, is in fact an important feature. This formation outlines a large cut toward the high Dwiran and Mez'ūd'a.

The Atlasic tectonics is "brutal and simple ... Austere architecture of rigid blocks which climb by successive stages to the N., more brutally to the S., up to the high massive crests." One would recognize it today in Seksawa by "a series of blocks; more or less balanced and separated by brutal accidents [and rising] toward a high chain vigorously folded" (1).

In a general way, one is struck by the contrast between the heaviness of these high reliefs and the mordant youth of the versants and valleys. At 1,500 meters, then at 2,000, and again at 2,500, a panoramic view reveals little more than levels, very flattened domes, mature and compressed crests. In a large piece of the country, roughly all the middle Seksawa, it is almost a homogeneous surface, in spite of the interruption of valleys, which displays its perspective around 2,000 meters: Azur, Tassila, Amudder, Ibuban. Surface of ante-Cretaceous leveling, whose important role on the life forms is still legible and with which there paradoxically contrasts the upstroke of an axial crest, hanging over it more than 1,000 meters with its hard and sharp limestone.

The morphology here directly concerns the humanity. The role of these surfaces of less slope has been major, whatever

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1. Id., op. laud., p. 67.

133 /18/ their origin may be: Cretaceous structural plateaus, today, however, almost entirely outside the Seksawa domain; preserved surfaces in the process of erosion; much lower, fluvial terraces; between the two level stretches formed on a declivity by an unequal resistance of the outcropping rocks. These planes or "replats" have been an essential factor in the constitution of a system of life and of a rural landscape. Another structural element of great stir: the maturing of the valleys by successive degrees, an evolution that seems to have shown pauses and awakenings, and, combined with the unequal hardness of the layers passed, to have cut them into sections. The general orientation of the river, conforming to that of the asif el-Mâl and of the Nffis, roughly follows the direction of the Hercynian relief: it was therefore made, or maintained, in the opposite direction of the Atlasic folding. Where the rock is hard, as between Z'init' and Tamezgurt, between Tasselli and Igerssafen, between Sekrat and Iguntar, dizzy gorges are encased, with abrupt walls. Elsewhere, the existence of soft schist or an encounter with a synclinal, as in several places of the asif n-a. Lh'sen, enlarges the valley, indeed creates, as below a. Musa, a string of small basins. Another consequence of this contrary direction is that it conspires with the plane of surrection itself to fraction the country at right angles. Everything co-operates from then on for a cantonal partition, the clearer sometimes because the fluvial erosion has not yet harmonized its profile and the latter breaks off often in level stretches. Profile by fits and starts, if I may venture to say it. Relatively mature sections are sometimes widely spread out -- thus in a. H'adduyws, at Tuz'z'umt -- but are sharply separated from one another. Finally, with this spreading out taking place over certain sections of the bed, while erosion softens the heights, a striking correspondence finally becomes established: deep troughs downward, flattened summits overhanging. Hence characteristic pairs of forms: chaif, "bombement" /swelling, bulge/ of the Illikkri, above the basin of the a. Mh'and; chaif of Azur above that of the a. Musa. These ensembles are favorable for pastoral

/18 cont./

133 and agricultural life. They contrast nobly with forms more inhospitable, such as that of the steep ravine of Usikis, heroically notched with steps, or even repugnant to any utilization. The ambition of mountain societies will always be to hold at the same time the small fluvial delta and the high brows of hills with pasturage, woods, and rye. It even happens that these expansions of the bed are simple enough to reveal, as downstream from Tuz'z'umt or in the asif n-a. Lh'sen, a succession of several levels parallel lengthwise. They are, as J. Dresch says, "des banquettes naturelles" /natural benches/; and it /19/ is really remarkable that there, too, geology has, with its broad hand, traced almost a model for the labor of man.

One has perhaps pushed too far this inquiry -- still only summary, and with a borrowed technicality -- on the structure of the Seksawa country. But, for our own research, important data have been extricated. First, the clear demarcation of a country, a kind of impasse with door half open on the plain and on the N. Then its simple material, proceeding, from N. to S., in a direction which is that of a geological cut. This progressive deepening will also be that of the originality of the institutions and of the preservation of an authenticity. In particular, the age of the soils, increasing in inverse proportion to the force of the last tectonic arrangements, leads to a mole of geological archaism, and also of sociological signification, the Tichka. And also this right-angle partitioning, resulting from the crossed directions of the Hercynian and Atlasic reliefs. Hence a cantonal structure that lays bare the coexistence of mature level stretches and abrupt obstructions. Finally a whole middle-mountain horizontality, presenting flats /Fr. relais/ on the heights, and almost a pre-established classification for a life which, from stage to stage, amidst the harshness which presses on it from all sides, finds slopes to cling to, and even surfaces to expand on.

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137 133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

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1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude. [126]

133 /*20 cont.*/ As in all mountain
societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/
and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/.
annammer and *amalu*. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Saharan
[137] sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is
"a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts"
(2).

2. R. Maire, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /*21*/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a relative
mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors
[137] to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them
closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-Atlas
[182] /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa
domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
137 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending
245 upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as
far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree,
whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at
Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
● 133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen be-
tween 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming
confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
(241) tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
(233) A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

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1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/25 cont./

182 241 311 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 311 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, cultivations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

/29 cont./

361 342 [113] /footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361 [161] Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages
[133] the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-
[132] valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/

IV. Cantonal Personalities

133
Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," agg^{w}mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain
among the Ud Bessebā^{c} Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[978] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[772] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tamgonsi,
137 from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[173] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Seksawa.
101 Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive
names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]

619 [Ait H'adduyws]

131 /42 cont./

634 The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the
613 branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper de-
[217] scendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish im-
[127] portant information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right
634 bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the
487 height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-
[7[illegible]] bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor
133 is going to be concerned.

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is
101 now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens
634 into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of
[769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint,
[349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic
[776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to
[197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxy-
173 tone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains.
Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its
lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to
a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into
Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the
whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great
history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue
of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration
of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide
ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a
street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac
of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is
seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga,
[778] and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
Âbdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last
[484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from
this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
166 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But
619 immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence,
at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted
634 has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent *amghar*, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the
Aźiwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the
old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the
purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. *commandite*/ of
livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Im-
material factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an open-
ing, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent direc-
tions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coin-
cides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

• 133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture, composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets, it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty, and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the life of the high cantons.

Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

619
634
101
175
181
[166]

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms, starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic, and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./
634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of
the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen,
characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to
the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws
village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The
Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course.
Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic
formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or
pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to down-
stream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which
is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of
fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the
difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part
of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That
is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important
634 sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme
sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary
to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate
at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern
634 times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation,
619 the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained
634 for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious
aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between
101 which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
● 133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape.
[134] Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the
end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise
619 on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u
Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir
n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of
619 a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very re-
cent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/
Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their
Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above
(Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin,
etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity
that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality.
Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are
compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore,
fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted syn-
thesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered sym-
metrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the
Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them
in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream,
the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to
say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, be-
fore touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a
well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
"mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous
block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond
trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions
ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between
the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./
133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
101 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the
tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the
holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of
the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for
example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that
the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to
133 the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with
blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubt-
edly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the de-
parture of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has
been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives
there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this
region, reveals former bucolic moress from Wanchkrir, the grounds
crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the
calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself un-
fruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal
i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi
[795] Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of
Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the
benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country,
or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces im-
placable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history,
and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and com-
pensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately
lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
634 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between
a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased
anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi
y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological
nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
101 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them
634 toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to
old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the
other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to
the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the
N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the
Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some
openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the
a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of
Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction
of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to advantage
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable
mentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides
by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive
live such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next,
become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having
wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of
the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of
asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the
saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed
completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talʿint.
This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a
blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u ʿAbderrah'man. In fact, it has
more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following
ing the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in
the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133
101 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
634 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
[137] plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 181 619 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart, Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an *amghar* of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free *taqbilt*-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

/133 634 [241] From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" *Berra n-rryat*' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" *Lulit* of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and *tillirin*, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 [312] /*57*/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
●133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
[137] The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Âbdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An in-
termediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the
powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land
structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the
massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored
pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded frag-
ments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region
only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the
dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical
quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam.
They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags.
Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species re-
call the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a
less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent
group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and
Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees en-
liven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants
and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But
visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time,
all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been
put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for
crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Regraga
of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics
of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô,"
just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these
names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more
characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated
by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which
there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows
who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this
is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot
where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology,
besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of
transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants;
and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills extend
their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
131 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran
634 domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the
original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of
brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or
even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland
between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge
634 ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut'
n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

133 634 /58 cont./ in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Âbdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/

V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 175

Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/83 cont./

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• 133
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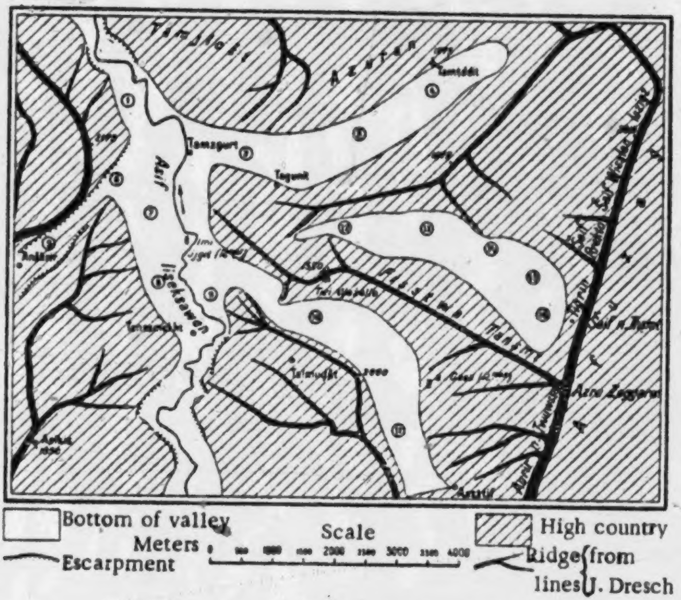
Azntar
Tamsgurt
Tagunit
Asif
Tannsmt
Bottom of valley
Meters
Scale
0
2000
3000
4000
High country
Escarpment
Ridge lines
from J. Dresch

Fig. 5 – Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. —
4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. —
8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. —
11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. —
14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gfer. — 16. Tkerni.

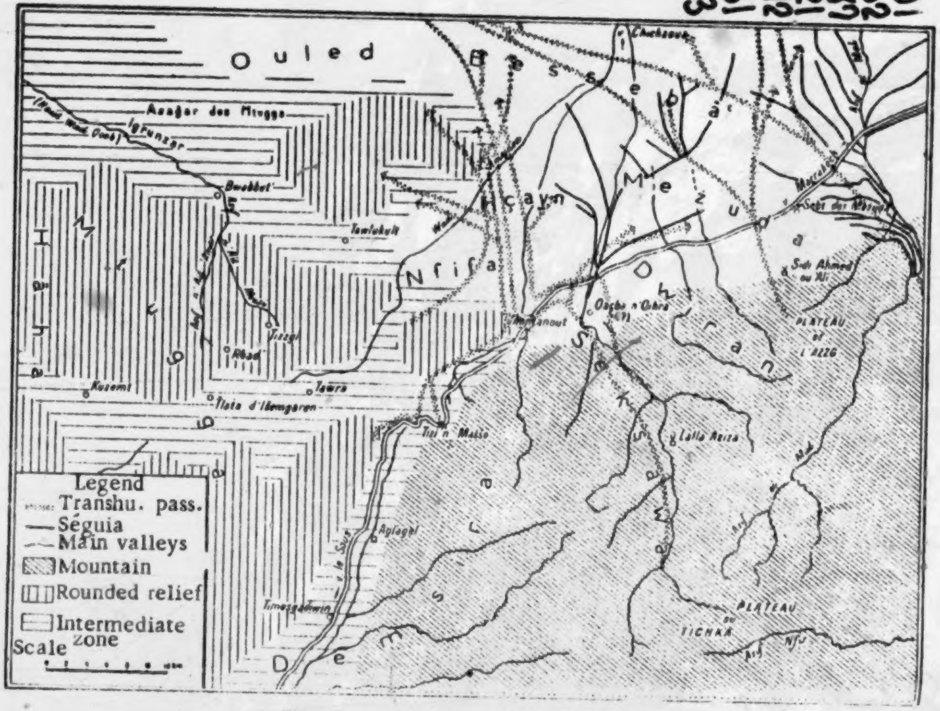
Ouled
Bessebâ
Mezuda
Hcayn
Nfifa
Dhiran
Seksawa
Mzuda
Hâhâ
Mtugga
Demsira
Asagar des Mtugga
Igfunzar
Bwabbet
Tamlokult
Tizagt
Rbad
Kusemt
Ilala d'Imegaren
Tawra
Tizi n' Maâtu
Imintanout
Qasba n'Ghre
Chichaoua
Marrakech
Sebt des Mzuda
Sidi Ahmed ou Ali
PLATEAU of L'AZZG
Lalla Aziza
Aglagal
Timezgadiwin
PLATEAU du TICHKA
Legend
Transhu. pass.
Séguia
Main valleys
Mountain
Rounded relief
Intermediate zone
Scale

Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/106 cont./

312 648 619 (634) (628) Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran and the Ud Bessebâ^{c} is found in a. Âbdella, at least for most of them. The relations with the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wādī'l-Qīhra and the Ud Bessebâ^{c} being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 312 619 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran. Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Âbdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

● 133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Âbdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/109 cont./

233 241 [311] hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 233 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud 233 Bessebạᶜ plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as [114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 221 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

221 233 571 634 /118 cont./
or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171] 2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other 174 648 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

● 133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and [634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 634 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

> 1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.). 3

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 619 634 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
● 133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[571] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
[137] minder. _Vox_ _clamantis_ _in_ _deserto_: at the foot of the chain,
here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

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1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, _op. laud._, p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/124 cont./

241 423 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1): in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a 133 241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

[192) 1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchâ^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie* /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, *awuttu*, plur. *iwutta*.

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on 132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example, 133 hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the
[312] Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

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[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133
312 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. 133 (361) [613] The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 613 312 (173) It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

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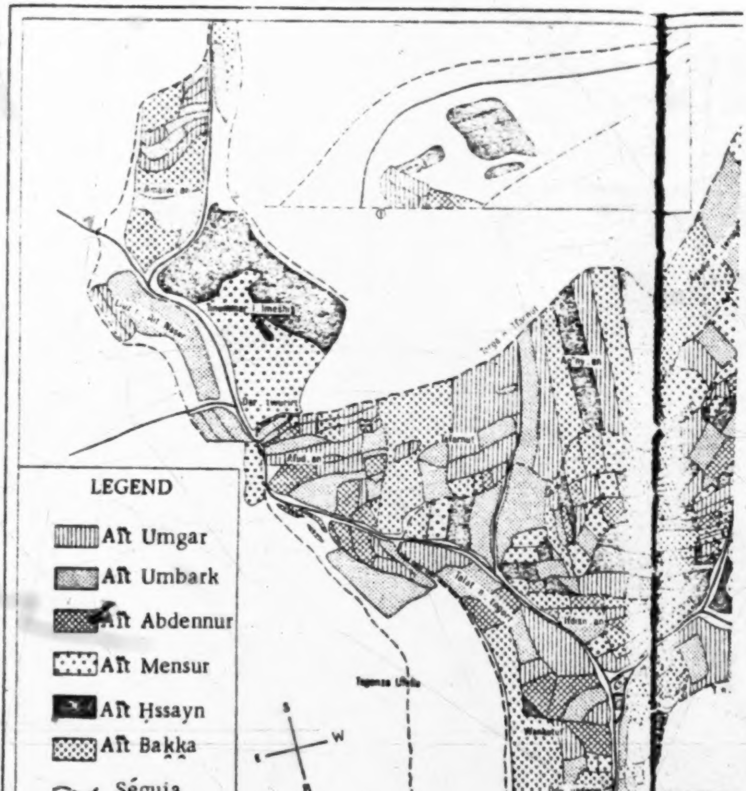
[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/


LEGEND
▥ Aït Umgar
▨ Aït Umbark
▩ Aït Abdennur
⠿ Aït Mensur
■ Aït Hssayn
▦ Aït Bakka
Séguia
Ravine
Scale
0 20 40 60 80 100 MÈTRES
(about)
S
W
E
N
Tagensa Uhdia

Parceling of the ground of the Aït Mhnd

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

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● 133
312
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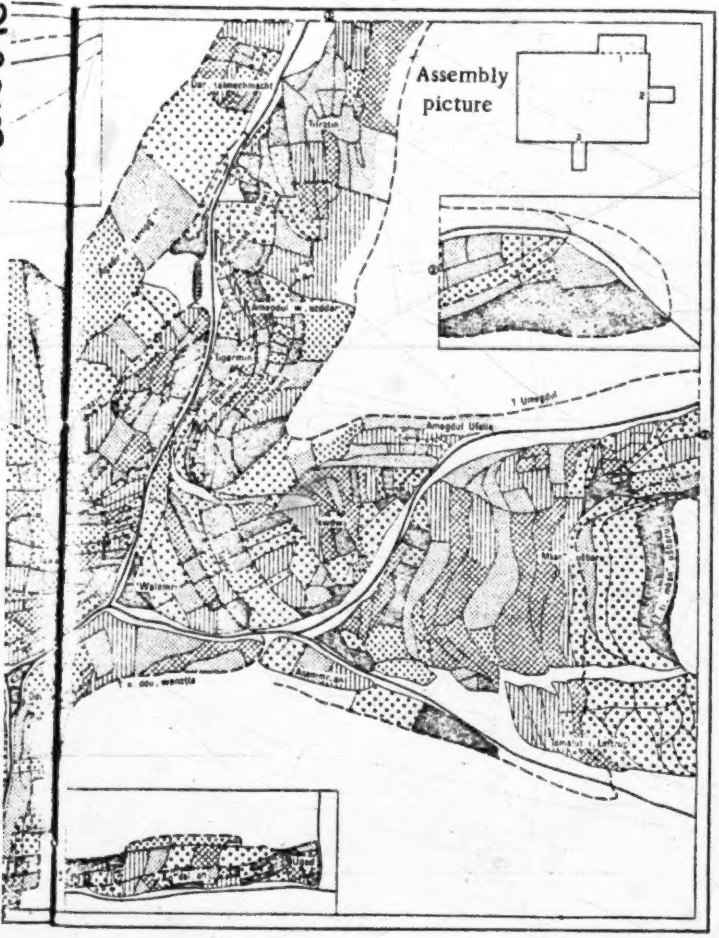
Assembly
picture
1
2
3
1 Umegdul

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 423 [312] their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

● 133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 312 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the attraction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long ségula, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did [172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{W}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{W}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 311 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uãziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather [794]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant,
[628] but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634 613 [173] [423] /201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
● 133
361
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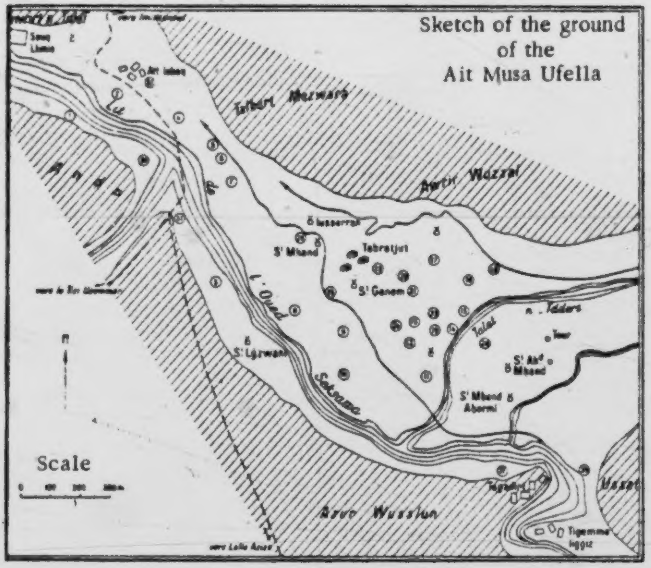
Sketch of the ground
of the
Ait Musa Ufella
Ait Iabas
Talbart Mezwaro
Awrir Wazzal
Iasserran
S' Mhand
Tabratjut
S' Genem
L' Oued
Seksawa
S' Lgrwani
Taddert
Talat
Tour
S' Abd Mhand
S' Mhand Abormi
Tagadirt
Tigemmi Iggiz
Azur Wusslun
vers Lalla Aziza
vers le Bir Idommen
Scale
0
400
200
Uzzat

Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs
and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of in-
terventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi
having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The coun-
try was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his con-
queror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them
had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European pro-
tector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and
violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel
/Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent
years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, deposit-
ing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counter-
demand by the European purchaser, collective and privative op-
positions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was neces-
sary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of
half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, . . .

• 133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 [137] dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages
have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the
S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg
Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the
Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the
country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but
by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the
Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's
bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr
and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears
to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a
whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the
intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note
the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we
call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase.
But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to
overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They
bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in
the Ilikri.

312 [242] Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to
give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-
term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example),
a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is
that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable
in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for
the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks
the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

•133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a
mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzūyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 172 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the carrot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saîd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Âbdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural 181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

613 /216 cont./
423 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzũyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly
131 limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzũyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions
619 of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the *amghar*-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a *no man's land* /the italics are in Eng[illegible] in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in /217/ a triangle between the valleys of the *asif*-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zũyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

/219 cont./

114 121 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," *Actes et Mémoires du III^{e} Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie*, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ 133 175 177 184 619 [634] In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, *agharas ugellid*, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demšira.

613 312 [184] This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/220 cont./

613 423 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten *ikhs*-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," *Iger ugellid*, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest.. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 312 [133] /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by *ikhs*, but unequally, the *ikhs*-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 [131] Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the *taqbilt* called Wad l-lbûr. Seven *a^{c}z'âm* form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. [578] The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was [634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ .... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the
exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s
surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage,
[634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of
a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi,
Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately
coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that,
following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive
plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric,
like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same
age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does
it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ-
[172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins,
called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft
(Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with
the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of
the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by
173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this
was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from
Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning
their principal habitat.

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Third Part
Institutions and Values

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Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech 114 by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged [133] with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

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1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as
the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded
there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in
turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the *amerwas*, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong
to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa,
[695] Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the *taqbilt*. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the *amerwas* varies according to four zones which apply the
regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the *chchard'*, stipulated marriage-settlement for
the benefit of the bride, includes in certain *taqbilt-s* and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. [114] And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

•133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. 778 That is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan, Pl. II /Left side of plate./

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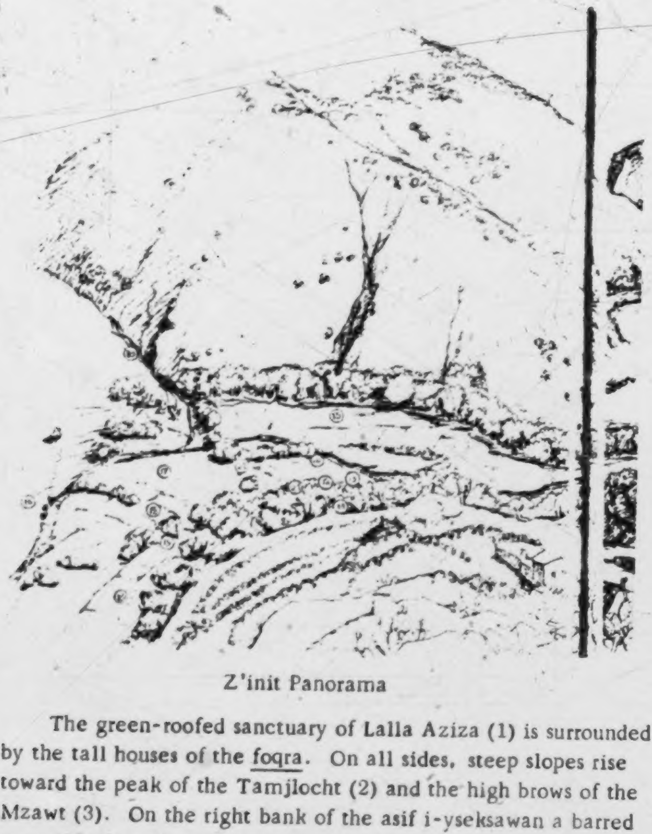

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

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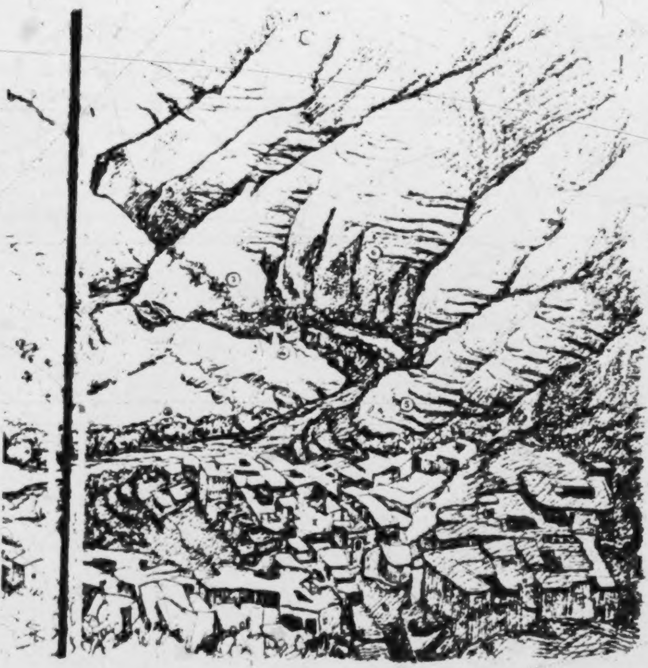

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma'; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

Pl. VI

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(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
854 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part
857 of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend
from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

Pl. VII

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Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

Pl. VIII

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Cl. J. Berque

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

Cl. Mohammed b. Lahsen

Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

Pl. IX

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Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.
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Pl. XI

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Cl. L. Berque

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

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Cl. L. [illegible]

Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

Pl. XII

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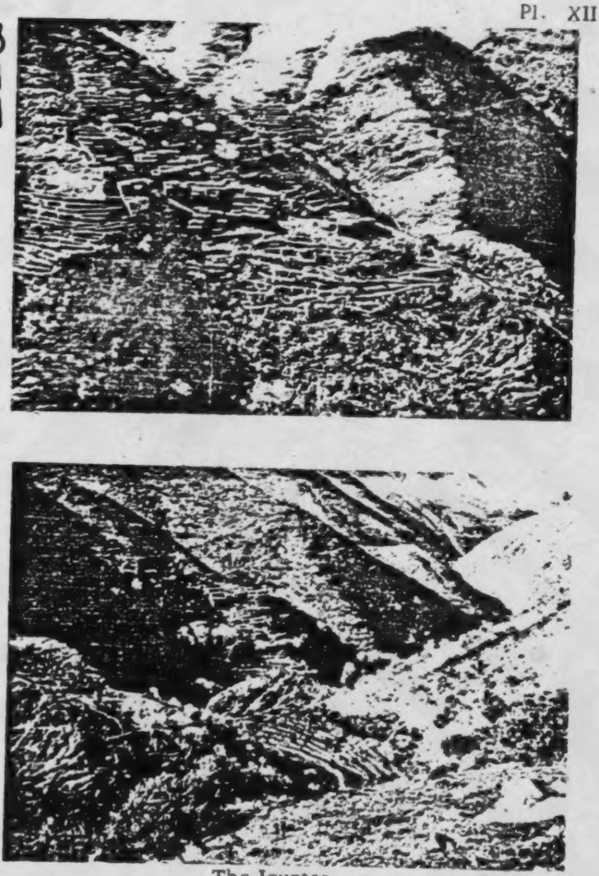

The Iguntar

(Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannem-
mert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the
[192] village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid
[712] Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of
[343] life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated
terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated
[487] by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley,
at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

Cl. J. Berque

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

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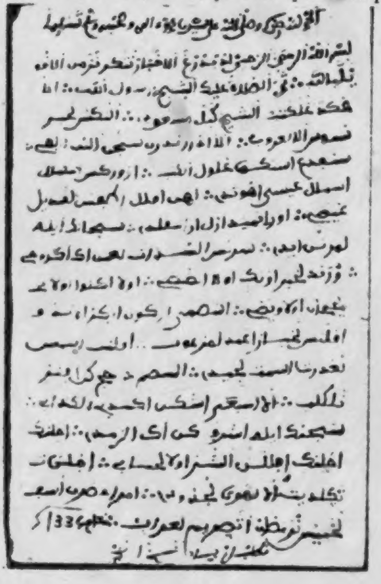

Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med .. Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

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1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

/3 cont./

121 101 •133 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Morocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical arrangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.

In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi^ca, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of revolts and anarchy. 121 101 In these natural centers of resistance, the Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes
of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established
for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter
differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous
and already present some characteristics of transition with those
of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary,
one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life,
the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the
transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investigations
in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the
101 passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations
that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of
the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the
same rules the different transformation of their political life, we
shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain
tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the
Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic
up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra
with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and
the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow [133] large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./
132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
• [133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and
the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that out-
side of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain
torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than
one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to
famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been
filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon
their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to
acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying
and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few
tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose
three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit
escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain,
nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces nec-
essary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees
covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the
stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pas-
toralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who
have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history,
have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life.
Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the
springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around
or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or
unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted
to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds
from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes
noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./

132 133 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches 80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000 meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean. The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even during the summer the storms from the region of the summits help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown elsewhere. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July, and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored; it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms; the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an implacable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the most part before summer.

132 133 241 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favorable pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with difficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces, that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
•133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged
lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They
have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border
to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the
plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming
from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
361 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/,
241 Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock
from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great
plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of
Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and
Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou
Gwailal, and of Bou Lᶜajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a
startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the
harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them
makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a
few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes
allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the
gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is
less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from
the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce
the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit
the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely
different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at
various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the
Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between
the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily
finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to
the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
241 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
(137) desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
133 Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
134 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
241 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fertility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./
•133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputation of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout /tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while barley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs settled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands irrigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
134 the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its numerous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1) of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

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1. Unirrigated lands.

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
241 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[101] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[144] ments is to facilitate the fusion [illegible] races, unify culture, and give
to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common
characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère
/Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi,
which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce
between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan
South that one can observe the most original manifestations of
the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at
ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the
"haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/
Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mix-
ture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often
falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more
bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autoch-
thons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups
that occupy them and remain the most active and the most nu-
merous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding
what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the
plains.

• 133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed
by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which
constant relations are established between the two versants, so
that the displacement of people, the migration of families and
tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/15 cont./

133 491 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Ma^{c}cho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aït Ba ^{c}Amran, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 491 492 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels, cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks
/sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction
followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which
the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 184 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic events of the Moroccan South.

491 178 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains. [643] [619] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 491 131 133 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika, Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult region bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. 133 361 619 491 648 Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 133 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^ccho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
[361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is
revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the
harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of
cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents,
at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply
into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the
Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom,
isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the
inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in
agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the
foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part
of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade
tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of
the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit
of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble
in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has
remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around
the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had
to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of
the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the
price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Maᶜcho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history
have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it
from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues,
beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only
by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of
Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds
high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward
north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep
gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are
the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
[137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and
tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country
from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness
and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation.
361 Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the
wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of
the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost absent;
[312] each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest,
burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in
167 the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven toward
619 the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of
the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the
south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer
any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming
from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have
thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have
fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous,
of the Chtouka, and of the Aït Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan
alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the
territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away
from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as
103 to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes
a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 [103] deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of [361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has remained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ [619] from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two versants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, [361] and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 181 182 [166] In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local resources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/20 cont./

133 181 182 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial cleverness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 361 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 [182] IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. [501] Several natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 438 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 438 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re- •133 361 [226] sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 361 648 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain [439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the 175 177 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten- 000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

•133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

2: Montagne

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MW11 Shluh MW11

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P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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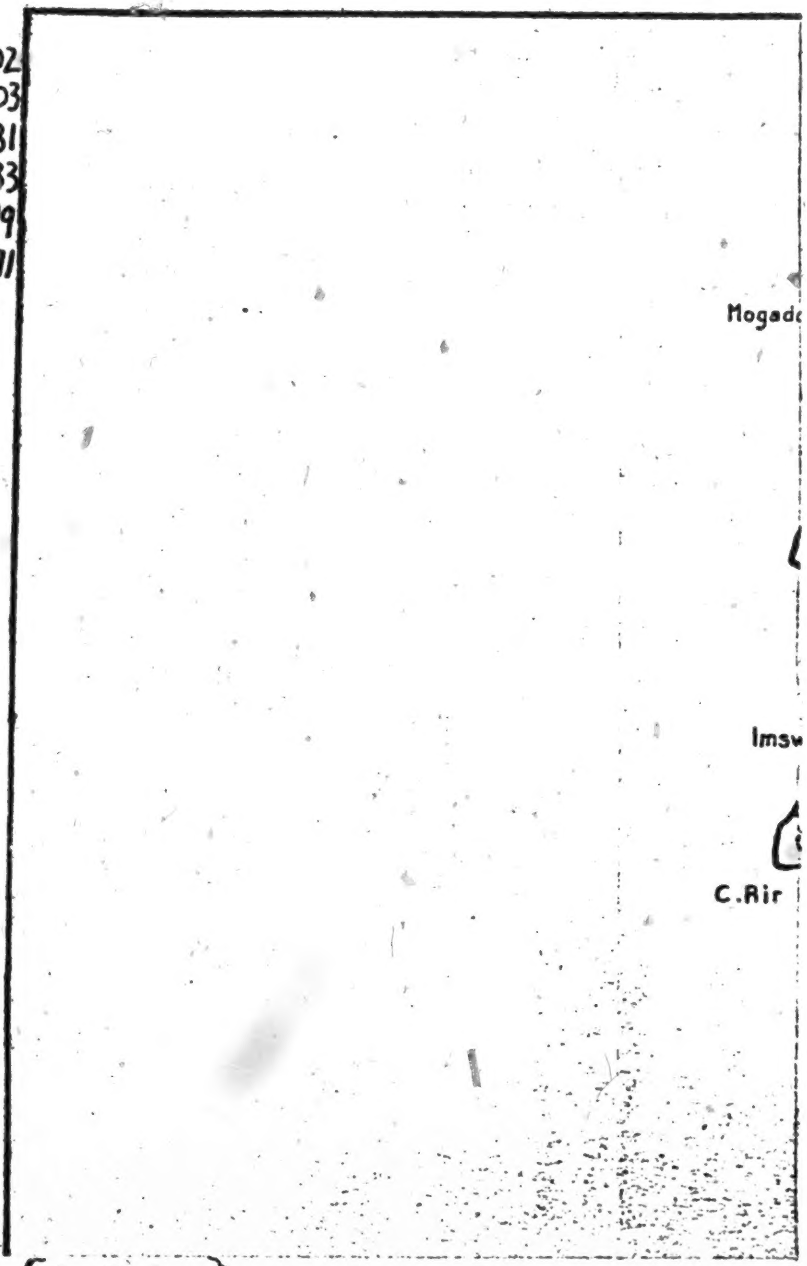
Mogad
Imsw
C.Rir

[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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•133
619
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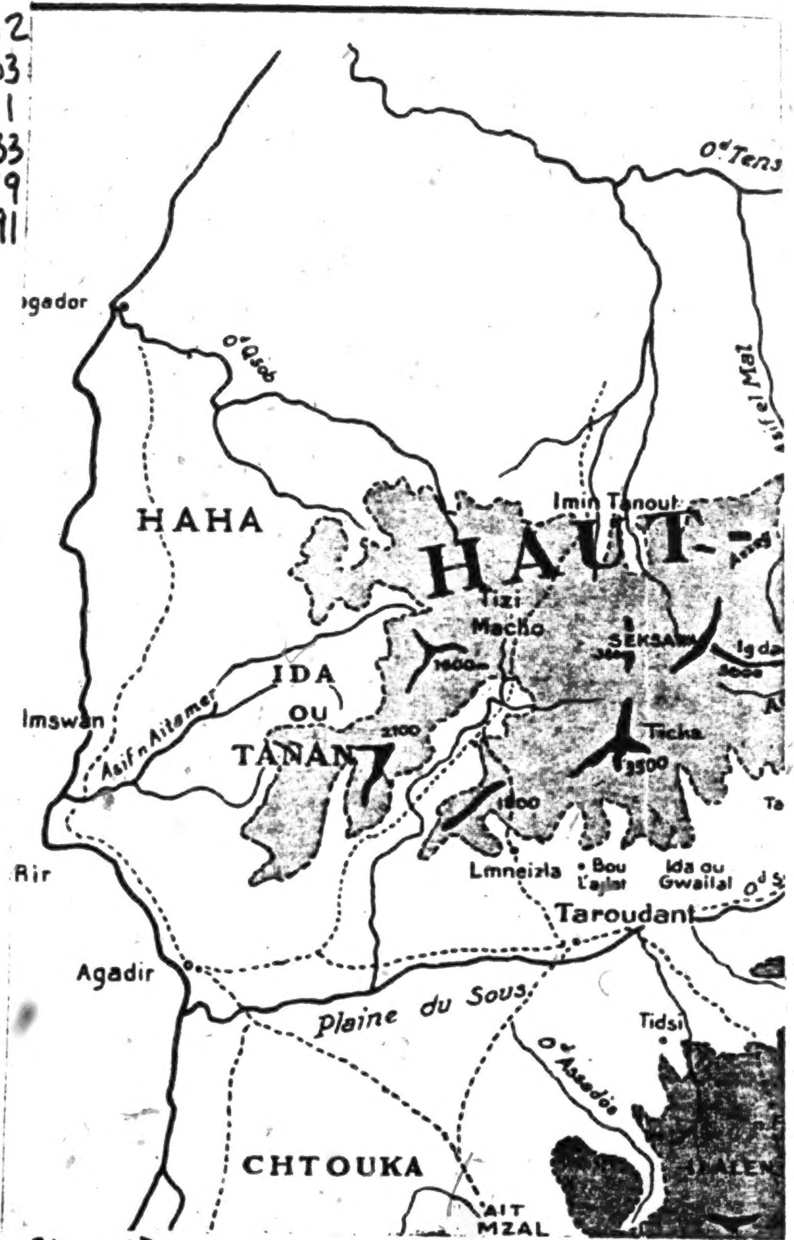
Oᵈ Tens
ogador
Oᵈ Qsob
Asif el Mal
Imin Tanout
HAHA
HAUT-
Tizi
Macho
SEKSAWA
Igda
3000
1600
IDA
OU
TANAN
Imswan
Asif n Aitamer
2100
Ticha
3500
1800
Ta
Rir
Lmneizla
Bou L'ajlat
Ida ou Gwailal
Oᵈ S
Taroudant
Agadir
Plaine du Sous
Tidsi
Oᵈ Assaka
CHTOUKA
AIT
MZAL

[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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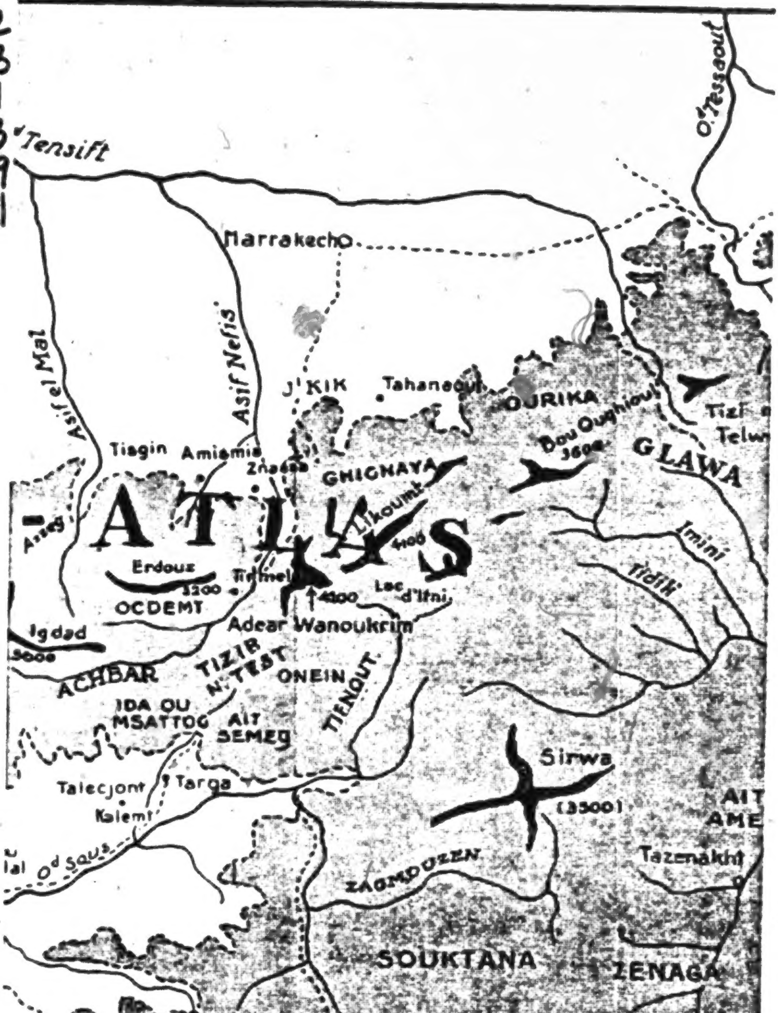
O^d Tensift
O^d Tessaout
Marrakech
Asif el Mal
Asif Nefis
J^l KIK
Tahanaout
OURIKA
Bou Oughioul
3600
Tizi n Telwet
GLAWA
Tiagin
Amismiz
Znada
GHIGHAYA
Likoumt
ATLAS
Assif
Erdouz
3200
Tinmel
4100
4100
Lac d'Ifni
Imini
Tidili
OCDEMT
Igdad
3600
Adear Wanoukrim
ACHBAR
TIZIR N'TEST
ONEIN
IDA OU MSATTOG
AIT SEMEG
TIENOUT
Sirwa
(3500)
AIT AME
Talecjont
Targa
Kalemt
O^d Sous
Tazenakht
ZAGMOUZEN
SOUKTANA
ZENAGA
INDA OUZAL
Adrar n.Fidoust
2800
2500
Adrar Wakl
ALEN
IDA OU KENSOUS
ATLAS

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--29 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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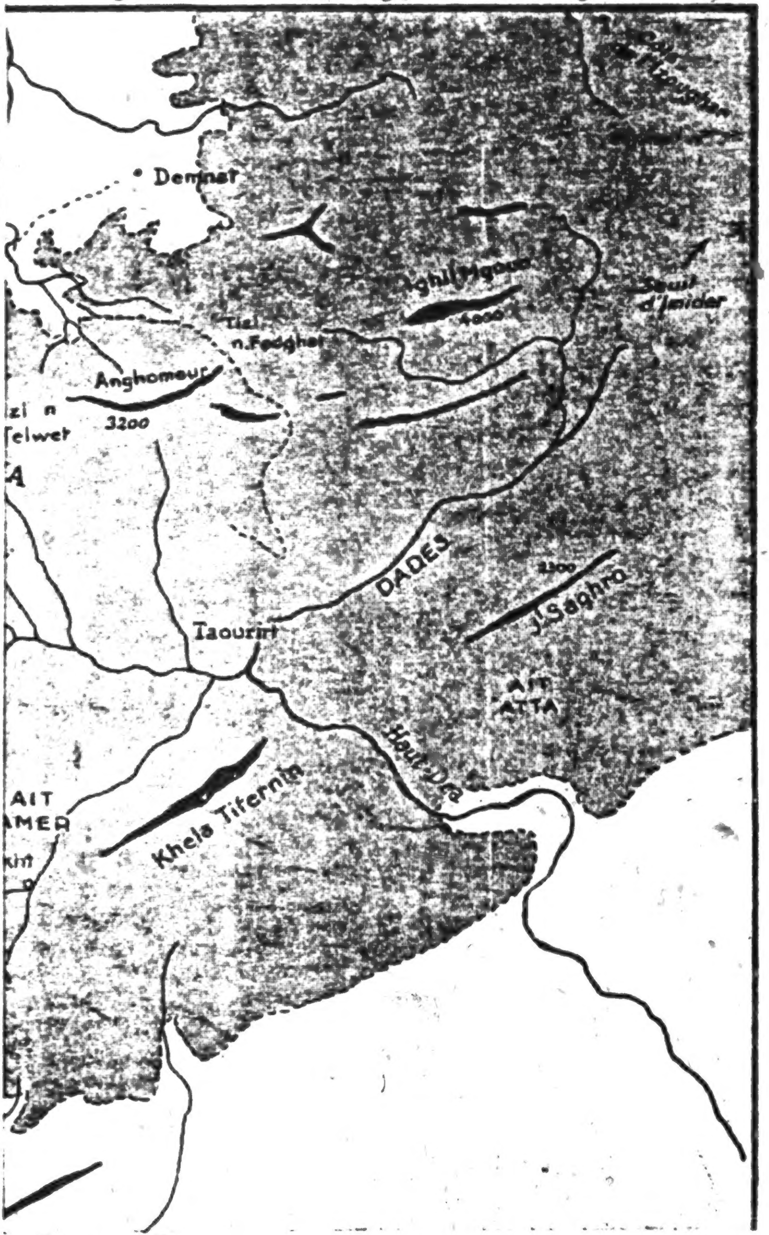
Demnat
Aghil Mgoun
4000
Seuil d'Imider
Tizi n.Fedghat
Anghomeur
3200
izi n
Telwet
A
DADES
3300
J. Saghro
Taourirt
AIT ATTA
Haut Dra
AIT
AMER
Khela Titernin
kirt

[Map 1]

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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•133
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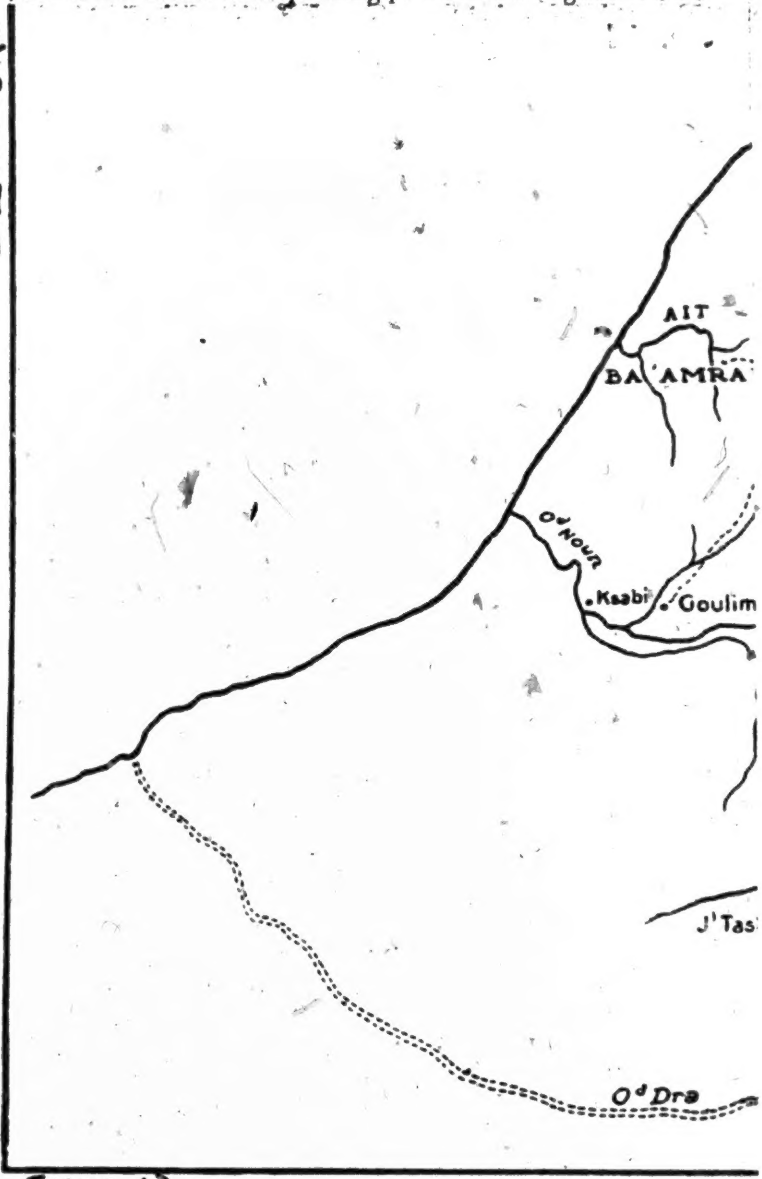
AIT
BA AMRA
Od Noun
Kaabi
Goulim
J' Tas
Od Dra

[Map 1]

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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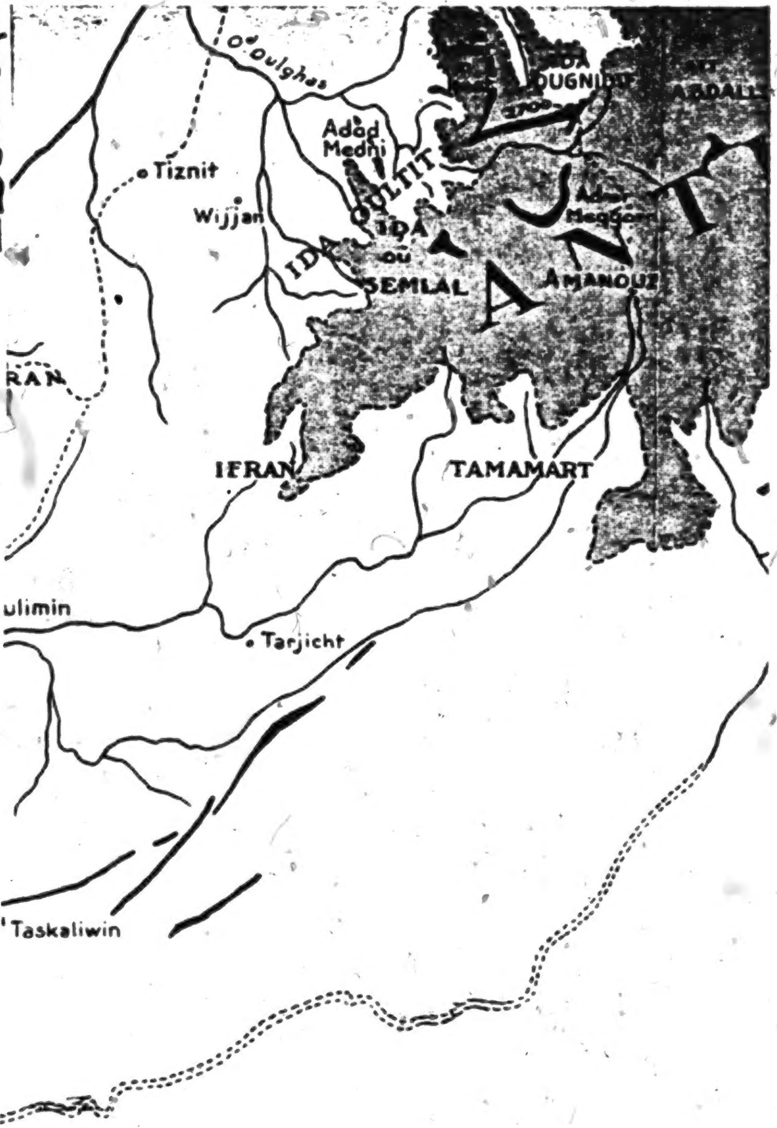
Od Oulghas
IDA OUGNIDIF
AIT ABDALL
2700
Adād Medni
IDA OULTIT
Tiznit
Wijjan
Adrar Meggorn
IDA ou SEMLAL
AMANOUZ
ANTI
RAN
IFRAN
TAMAMART
ulimin
Tarjicht
Taskaliwin

[Map 1]

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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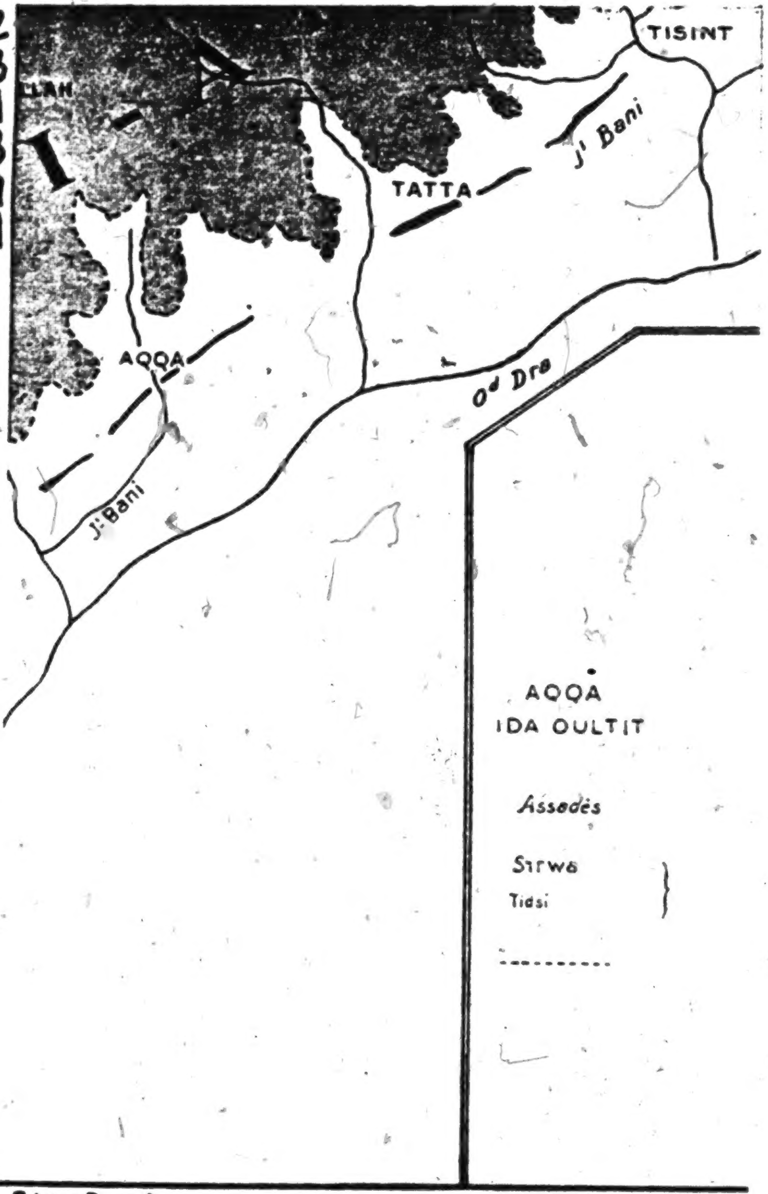
LLAH
TISINT
J' Bani
TATTA
AQQA
Od Dra
J' Bani
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assodès
Sirwa
Tidsi

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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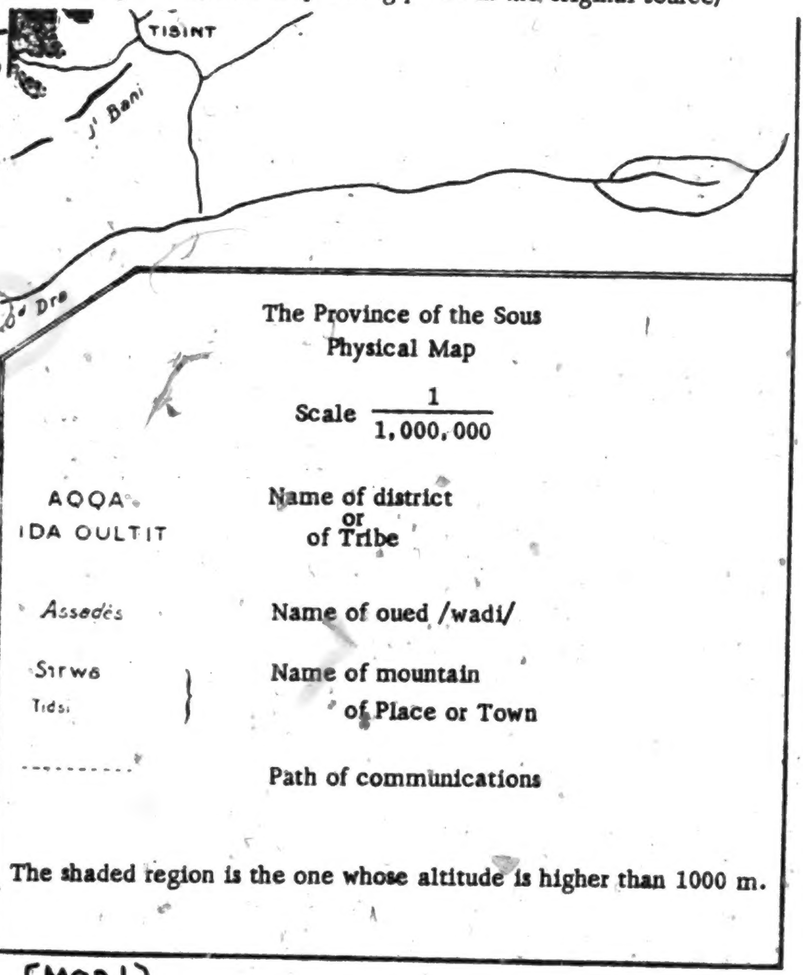
TISINT
J' Bani
O. Dra
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assedès
Sirwa
Tidsi

The Province of the Sous
Physical Map

Scale $\frac{1}{1{,}000{,}000}$

AQQA IDA OULTIT — Name of district or of Tribe

Assedès — Name of oued /wadi/

Sirwa, Tidsi — Name of mountain of Place or Town

- - - - - - - — Path of communications

The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

/128 cont./

121 *631 *634 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

.133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Maᶜcho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

/128 cont./

• 133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted
[361] [131] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

2: Montagne

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619
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P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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*631
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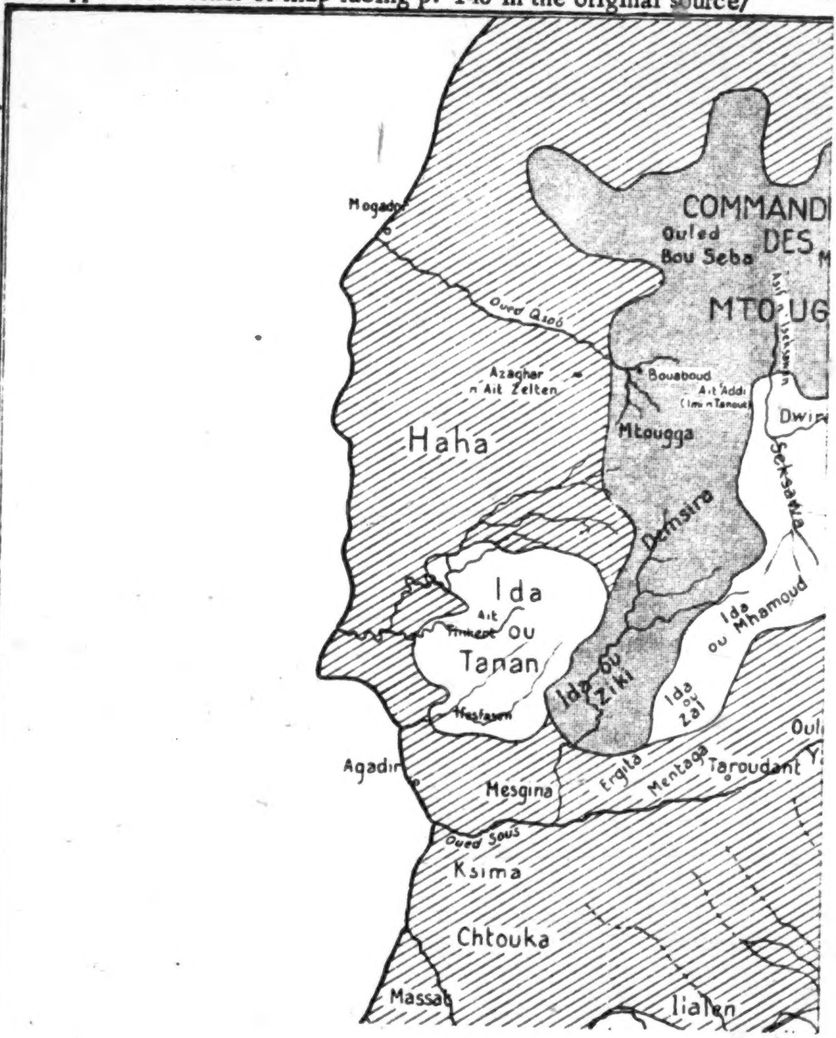
Mogador
COMMANDI
DES
Ouled Bou Seba
MTO UG
Oued Qsob
Azaghar n'Ait Zelten
Bouaboud
Ait Addi (Imi n Tanout)
Dwir
Haha
Mtougga
Seksawa
Demsira
Ida ou Tanan
Ait Tinkert
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Zal
Tifesfasen
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Ouli
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massat
Ilalen

2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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•133
*631
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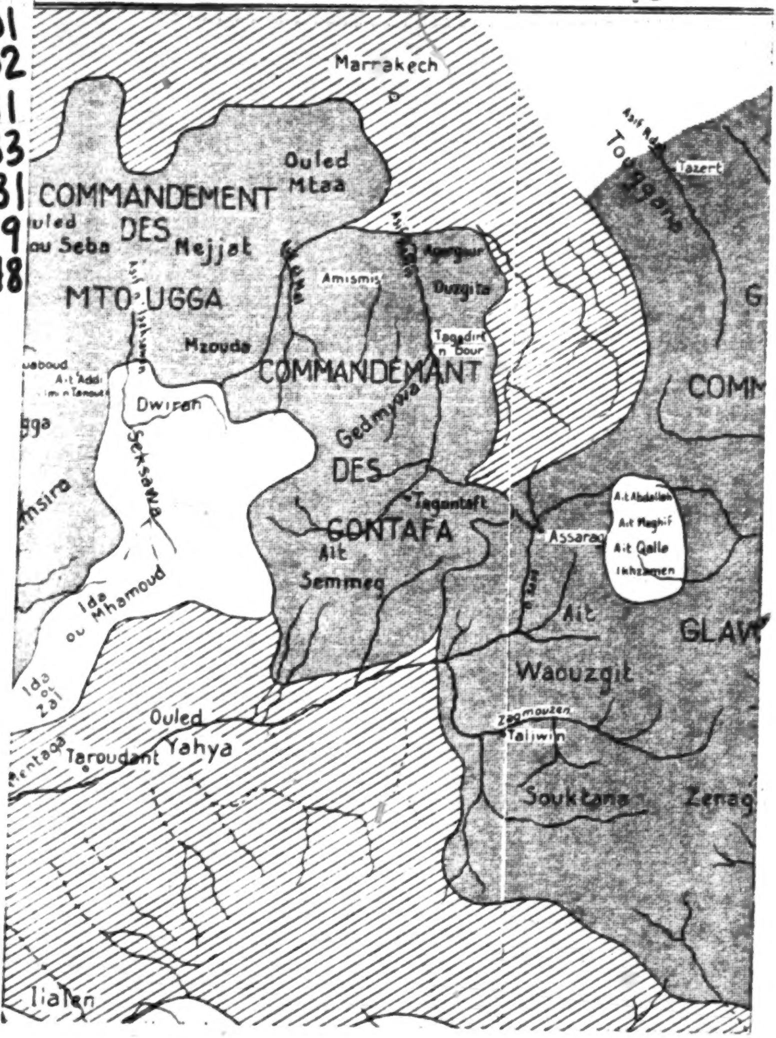

Marrakech
Ouled Mtaa
COMMANDEMENT DES MTOUGGA
Ouled ou Seba
Mejjat
Asif Assaka
Mzouda
Ait Addi
Dwiran
Seksawa
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Zal
Amismis
Aguergour
Ouzguita
Tagadirt n Bour
COMMANDEMANT DES GONTAFA
Gedmyowa
Tagontaft
Ait Semmeg
Asif Adaz
Touggana
Tazert
COMM
Ait Abdallah
Ait Meghif
Ait Qalla
Ikhzamen
Assarag
GLAW
Ait Waouzgit
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenag
Ouled Yahya
Mentaga
Taroudant
Ilalen

2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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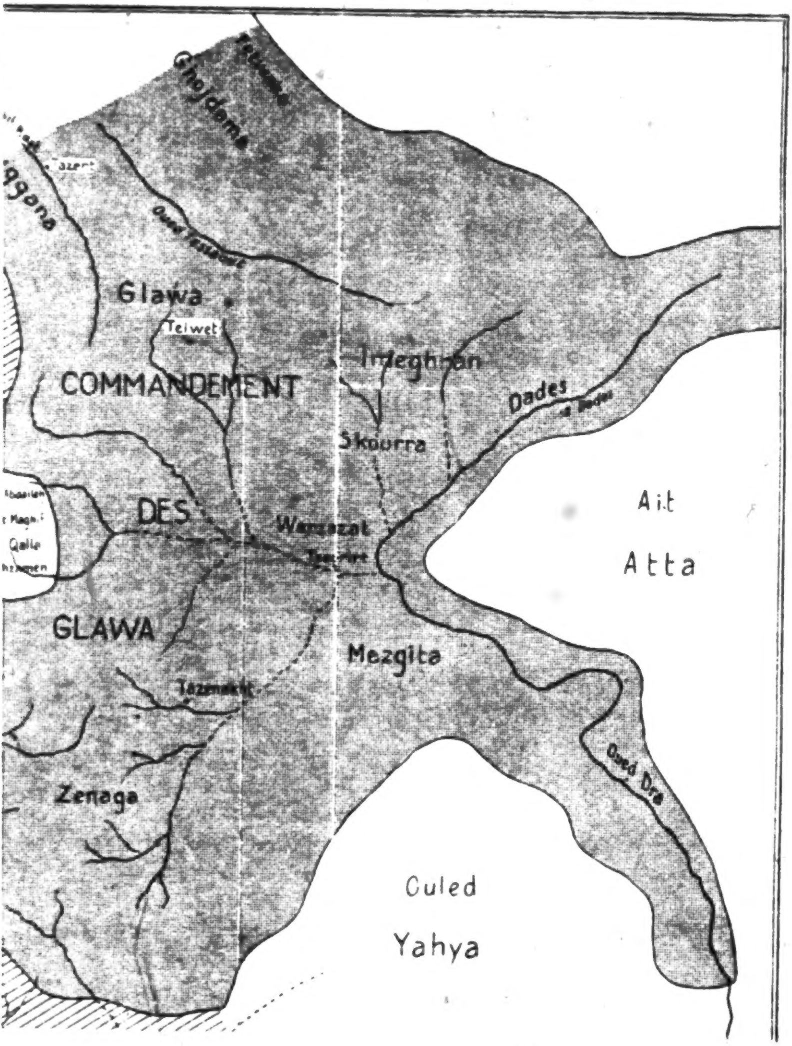
•133
*631
619
648


Ghojdama
Tazert
Oued Tessaout
Glawa
Teiwet
COMMANDEMENT
Imeghran
Dades
Skourra
DES
Warzazat
Qalla
GLAWA
Mezgita
Tazenakht
Zenaga
Ait
Atta
Oued Dra
Ouled
Yahya

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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•133
*631
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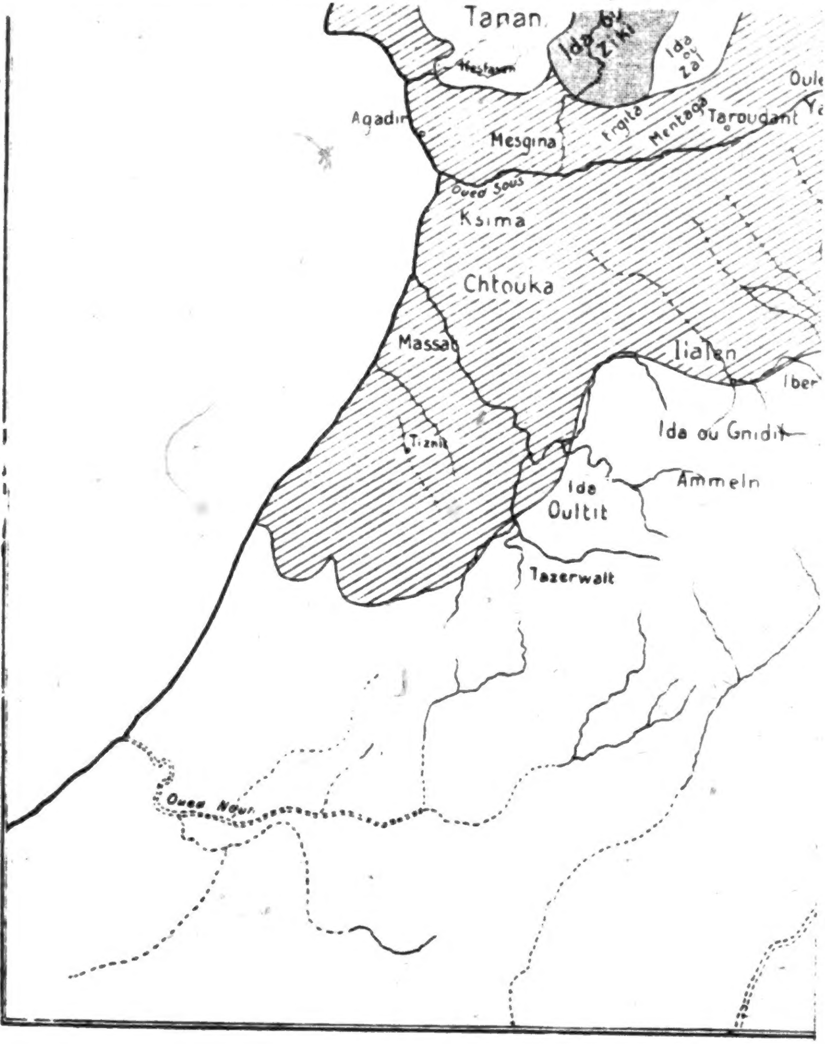
Tanan
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Zal
Oule
Ya
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massat
Ilalen
Iber
Ida ou Gnidif
Ammeln
Ide Oultit
Tiznit
Tazerwalt
Oued Noun

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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•133
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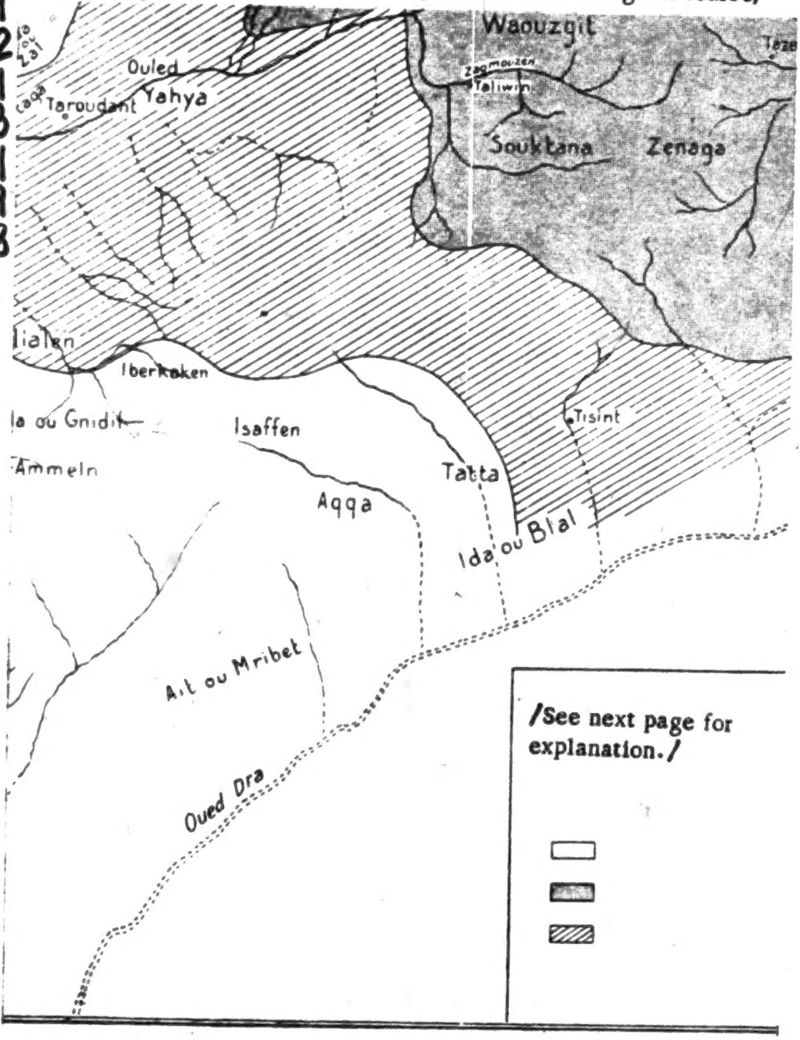
619
648


Waouzgit
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenaga
Ouled
Yahya
Taroudant
lialen
Iberkaken
la ou Gnidif
Isaffen
Ammeln
Aqqa
Tatta
Tisint
Ida ou Blal
Ait ou Mribet
Oued Dra

/See next page for explanation./

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
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•133
*631
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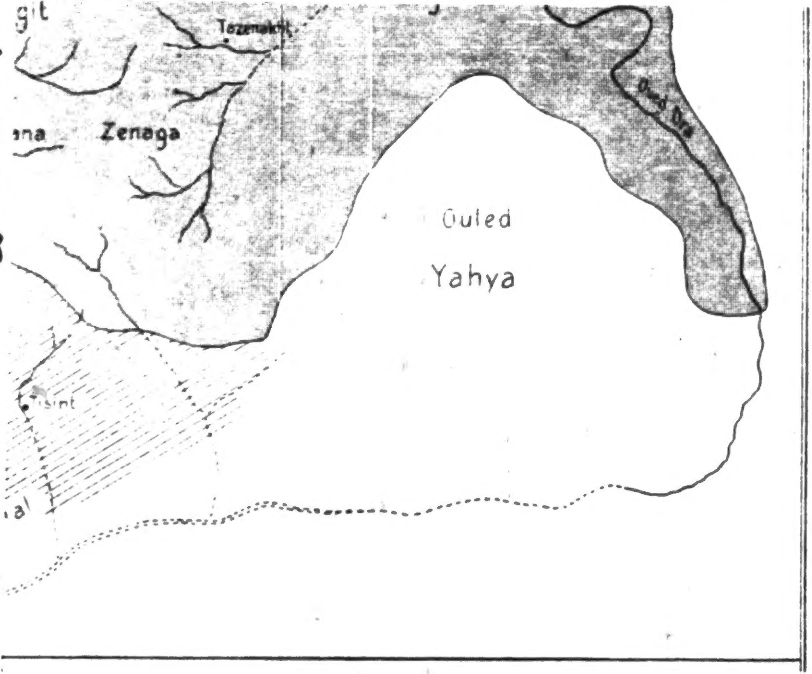
git
Tazenakht
na
Zenaga
Ouled
Yahya
Oued Dra
Tisint
al

The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

☐ Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

■ Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids:
Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

▨ Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen
(Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/156 cont./
*634 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages de-
184 fended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik
subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor
amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assem-
bly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the
Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its
little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which
deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about
everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the
penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and
the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of
[619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as
those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of
the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït
Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different consti-
tutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five,
twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs"
similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa
have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di-
• [133] vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by
canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant
of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem
to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou
Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on
the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or
184 canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this
way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to
131 which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their terri-
tory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially
when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^c," in the
most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little
state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediate-
ly adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

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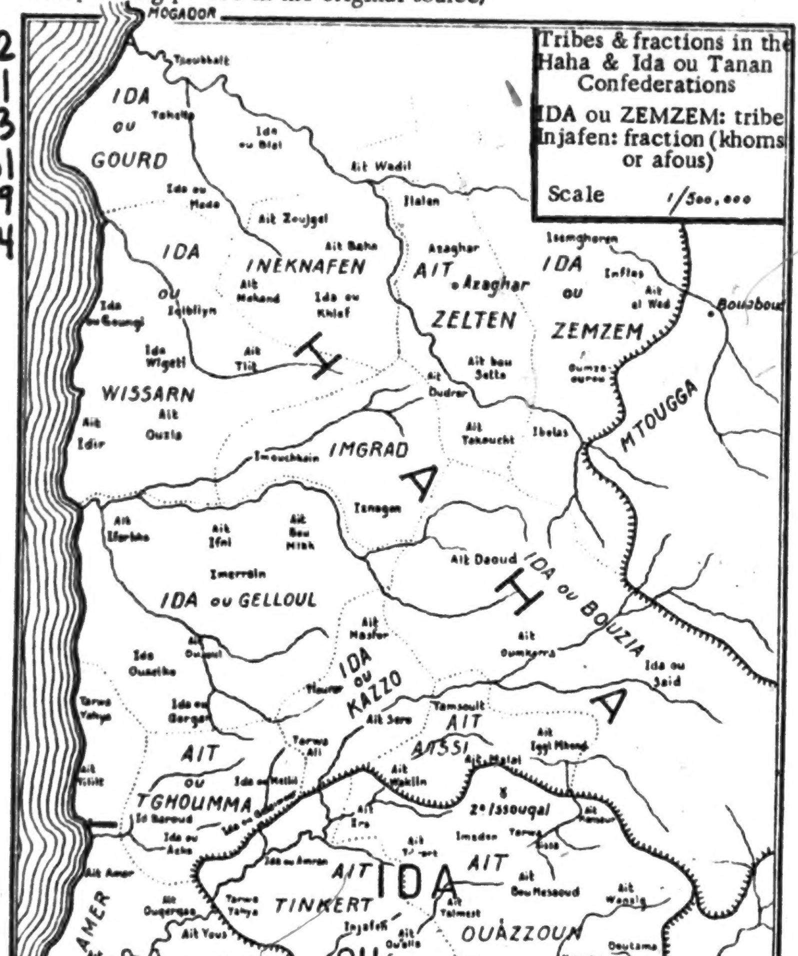
Tribes & fractions in the Haha & Ida ou Tanan Confederations
IDA ou ZEMZEM: tribe
Injafen: fraction (khoms or afous)
Scale 1/500,000
MOGADOR
AGADIR
HAHA
IDA ou TANAN
IDA ou GOURD
IDA ou ISSIBLIYN
INEKNAFEN
AIT ZELTEN
IDA ou ZEMZEM
WISSARN
IMGRAD
MTOUGGA
IDA ou BOUZIA
IDA ou GELLOUL
IDA ou KAZZO
AIT AISSI
AIT ou TGHOUMMA
AIT TINKERT
AIT OUAZZOUN
AIT AMER
IFESFASEN
IDA ou ZIKI
Bouabout
Azaghar
Z^a Issouqal
El Khemis d'Imouzzer
Z^a S^i Brahim ou Ali

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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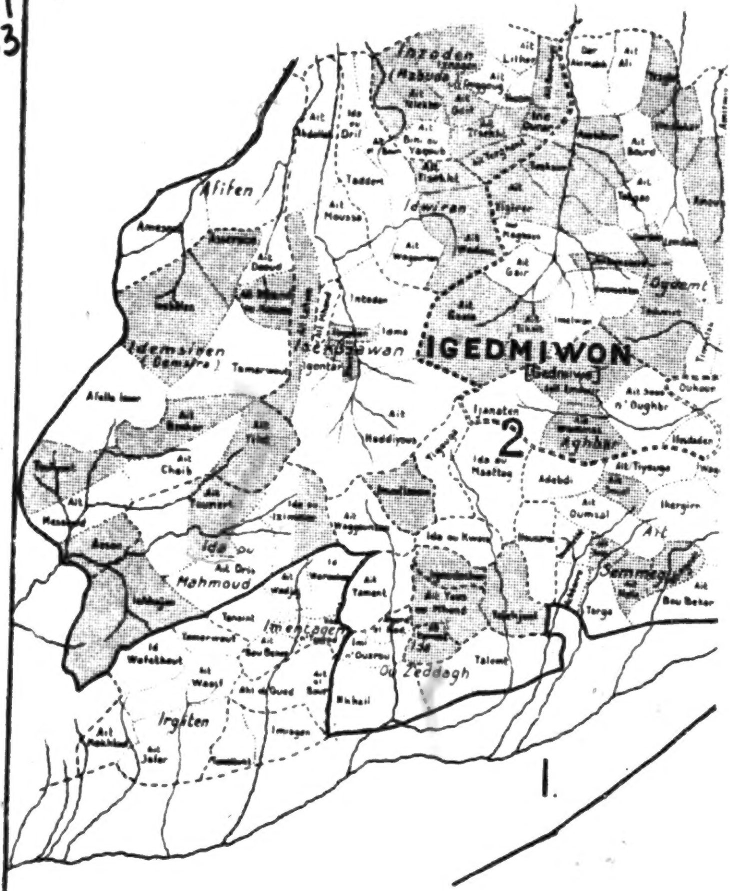
133


Inzoden
(Mzouda)
Afifen
Idwiran
Ogdemt
Idemsiren
(Demsira)
Iseksawan
IGEDMIWON
(Gedmiwa)
Aghbar
2
Ida ou
Mahmoud
Imentagen
Ou Zeddagh
Irgiten
Ait
Semmeg
1.

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

☐
☐
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☐
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☐
☐
☐

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•133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1.	Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs					
Zone 2.	Region of the leffs of the western Atlas	Ait Atman	Indghertit	Ait Fademt	Ait Zolit	▭
		Ait Iraten	Imsifern	Ait Tzeggout	Ida ou Zeddagh	░
		(Asif Nefis)	(Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	(Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	(So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	
Zone 3.	Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua	Inemzel				░
		Ait Iraten				▭
Zone 4.	Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas	Isouktan				░
		Igezzoulen				▭
Zone 5.	Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)	Ait Atman				░
		Ait Tintlet				▭

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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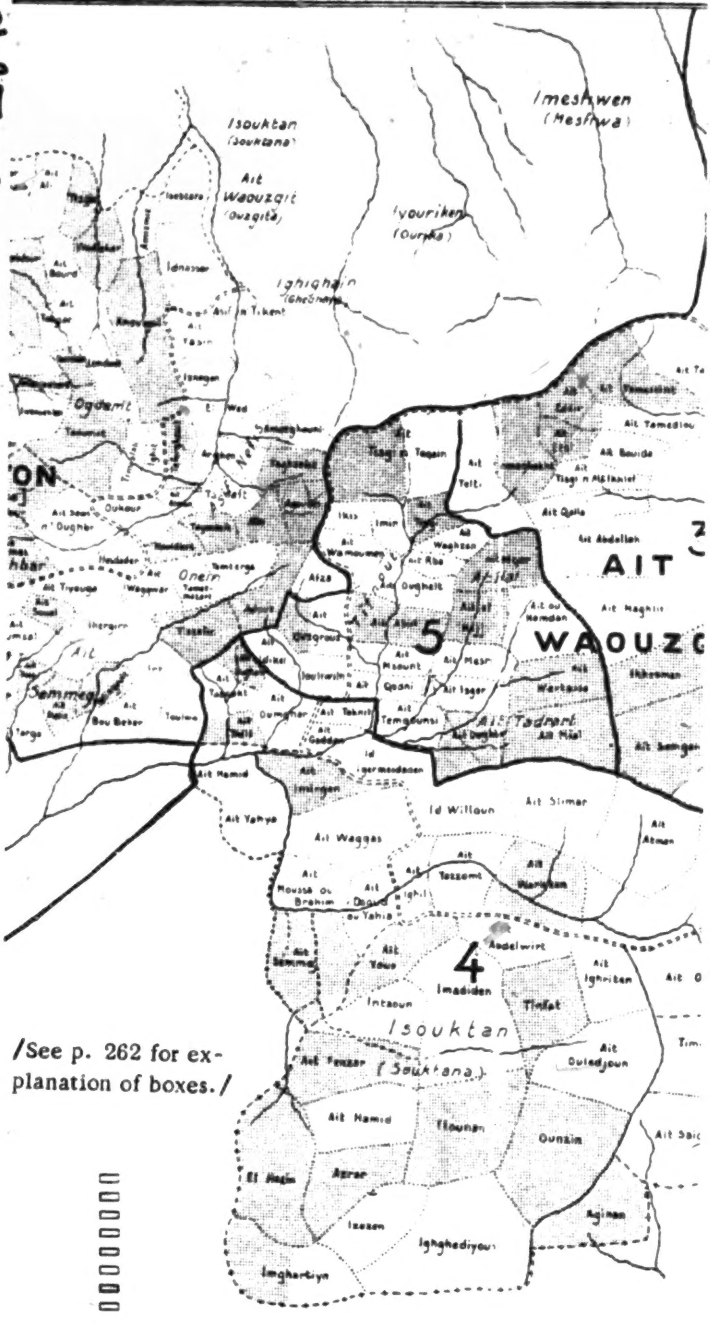
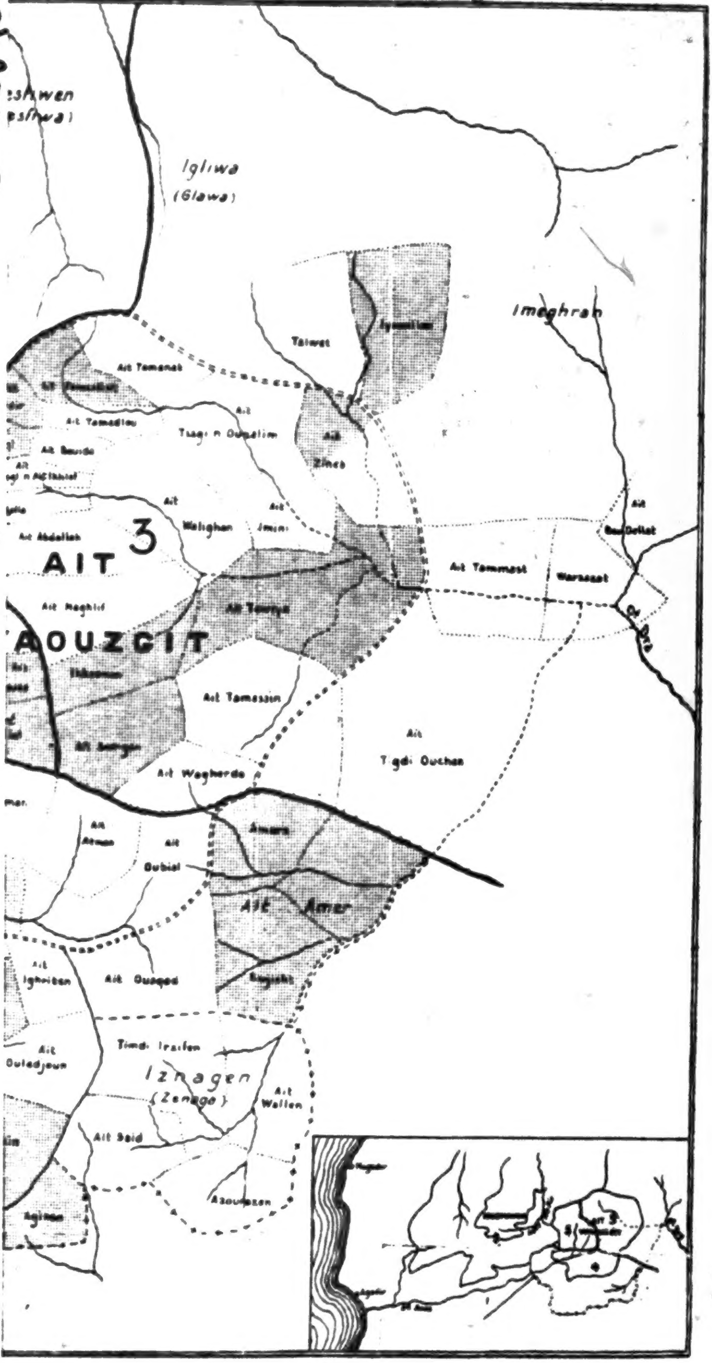

Imeshwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait
Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
Ogdemt
ON
Onein
Ait
Semmeg
AIT
WAOUZG
5
Tadrart
Id Willoun
Ait Slimar
Ait Waggas
Ait Tazzomt
4
Imadiden
Tinfat
Intaoun
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Fenzar
Ait Hamid
Tiounan
Ounzin
El Hajjin
Azrar
Izezen
Ighghediyoun
Aginan
Imghartiyn

/See p. 262 for explanation of boxes./

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



Igliwa
(Glawa)
Imeghran
Talwat
Ait Tamanat
Ait Tamadlau
Ait Baurdo
Ait
Tsagi n Oumalim
Ait
Zines
Ait
Welighan
Ait
Imini
Ait Abdallah
3
AIT
Ait Maghlif
AOUZGIT
Ait Tamassin
Ait Wagharda
Ait
Tigdi Ouchan
Ait Tammast
Warzazat
Ait
Bou Dellal
Oued Dra
Amara
Ait
Amran
Ait
Oubial
Ait Amer
Ait
Ighriban
Ait Ouaqad
Timdi Iraifen
Ait
Ouladjoun
Izhagen
(Zenaga)
Ait
Wallen
Ait Said
Azouwezen
Agadir

/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
•133
616
619

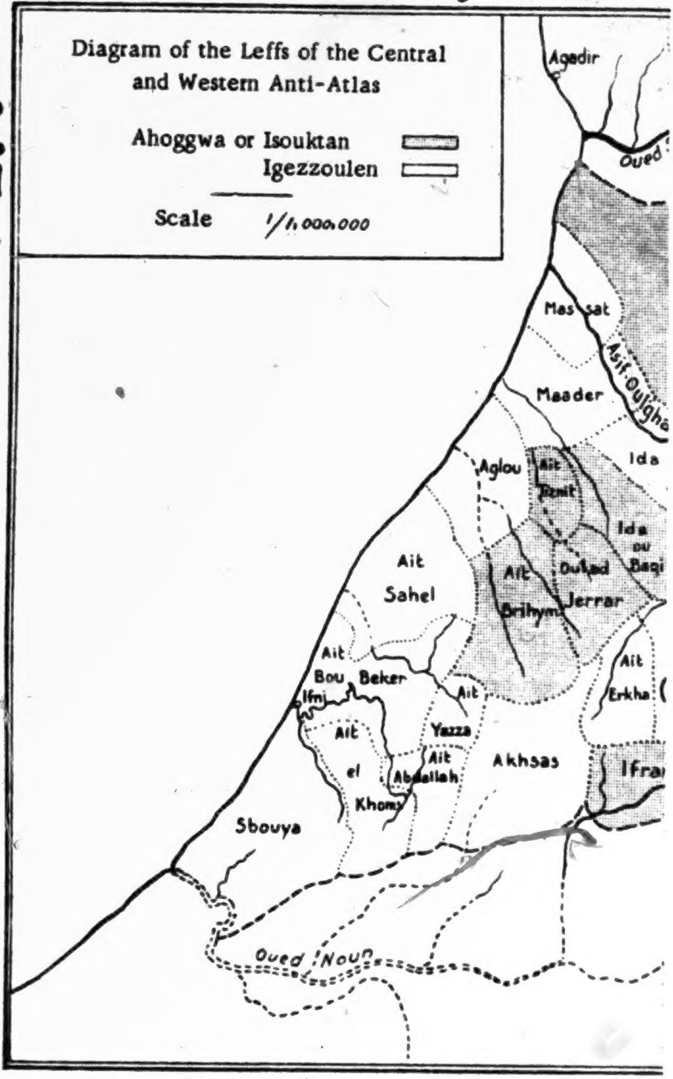
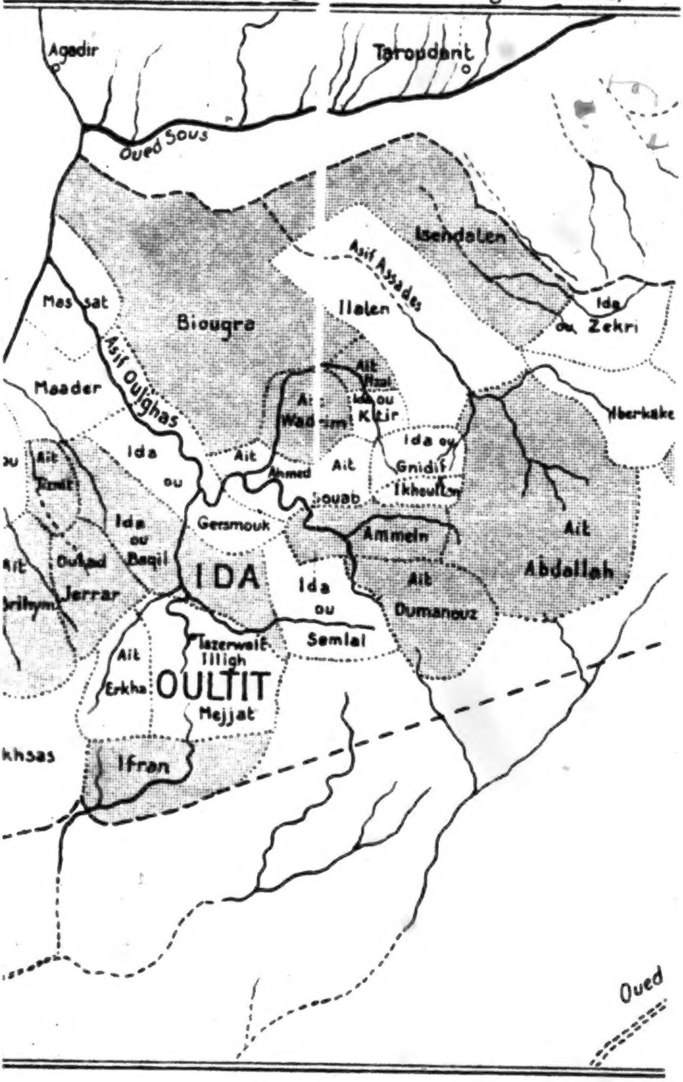


Diagram of the Leffs of the Central and Western Anti-Atlas
Ahoggwa or Isouktan ▨
Igezzoulen ☐
Scale 1/1,000,000
Agadir
Oued
Mas sat
Asif Oulgha
Maader
Ida
Aglou
Ait Djerit
Ida ou Baqi
Ait Brihym
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Sahel
Ait Bou Beker
Ifni
Ait Erkha
Ait Yazza
Ait el Khoms
Ait Abdallah
Akhsas
Ifra
Sbouya
Oued Noun

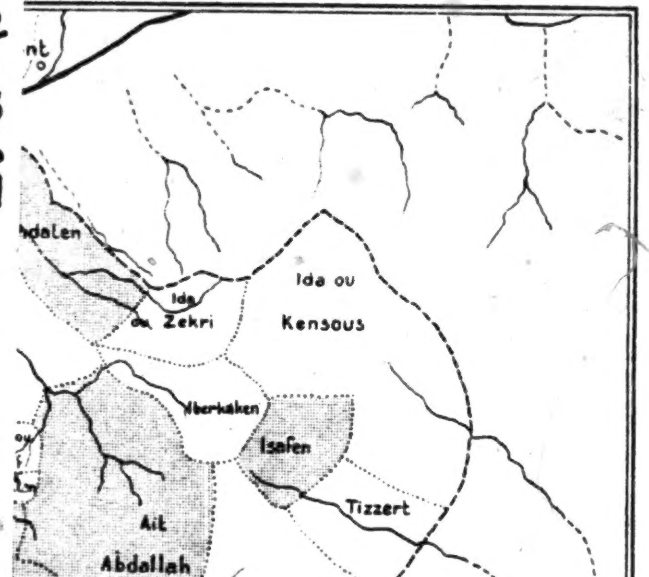
/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
•133
616
619


Agadir
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Isendalen
Asif Assades
Ida ou Zekri
Mas sat
Biougra
Ilalen
Asif Oulghas
Maader
Ait Mzal
Ait Wadrim
Ida ou Ktir
Iberkake
Ida ou
Ait Ahmed
Ait Souab
Ida ou Gnidif
Ikhoullan
Ait
Ida ou Baqil
Gersmouk
Ammeln
Ait Abdallah
Ait Brihym
Oufkad
Jerrar
IDA
Ida ou Semlal
Ait Oumanouz
Tazerwalt
Illigh
Ait Erkha
OULTIT
Mejjat
Ifran
khsas
Oued

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619


nt
°
dalen
Ida ou Zekri
Ida ou Kensous
Iberkaken
Isafen
Tizzert
ou
Ait Abdallah
snouz
Oued Dra

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
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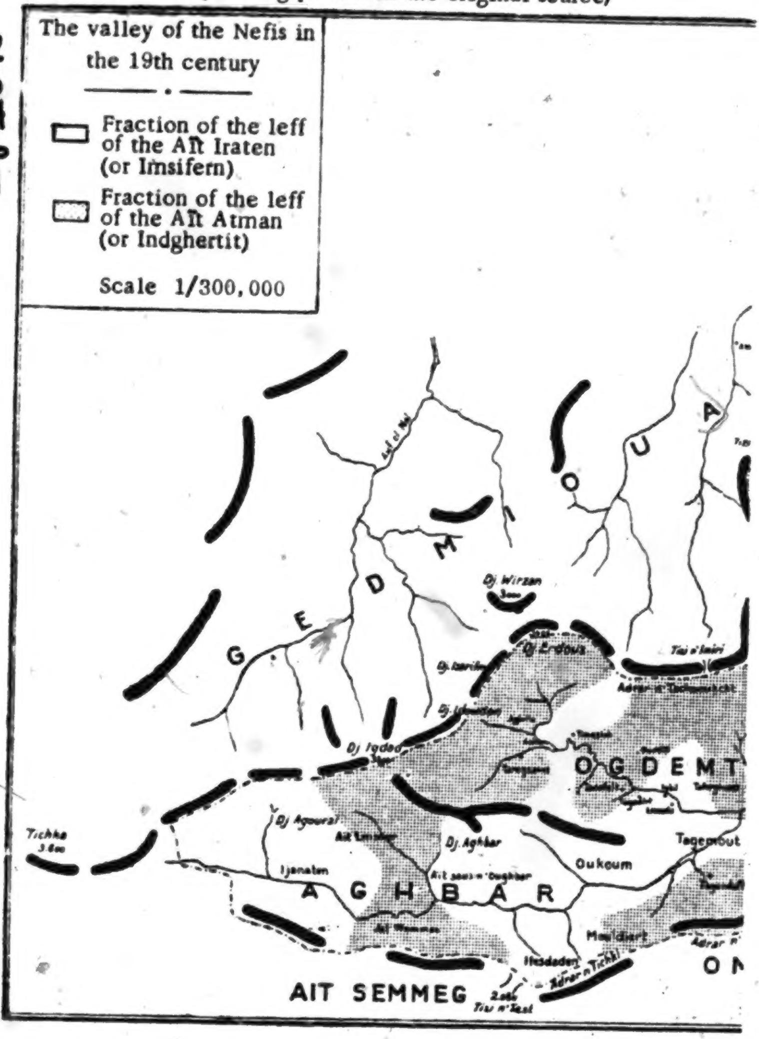
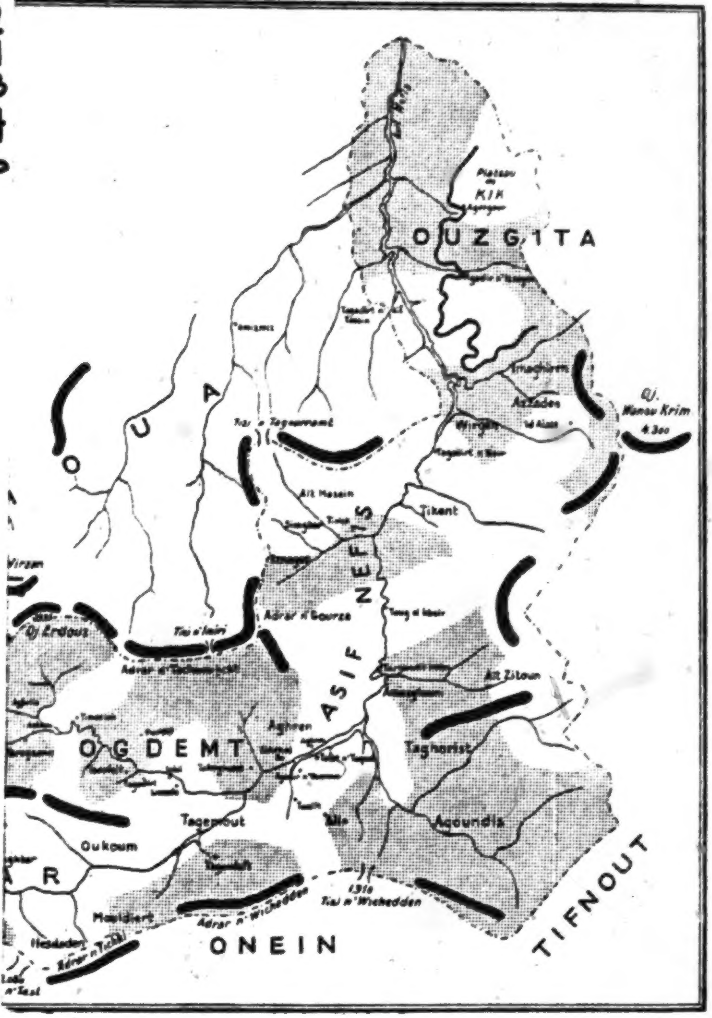
*634
616
131


The valley of the Nefis in the 19th century
▭ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Iraten (or Imsifern)
▨ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Atman (or Indghertit)
Scale 1/300,000
G E D M I O U A
Dj. Wirzan
Dj. Erdouz
Tizi n'Imiri
Adrar n'Tachemacht
Dj. Igdat
Tichka
3.800
O G D E M T
Dj. Agoural
Ijanaten
Dj. Aghbar
Oukoum
Tagemout
A G H B A R
Aït Semmeg
Ikadaden
Adrar n'Tichki
Tizi n'Test
Maouldiert
AIT SEMMEG
O N

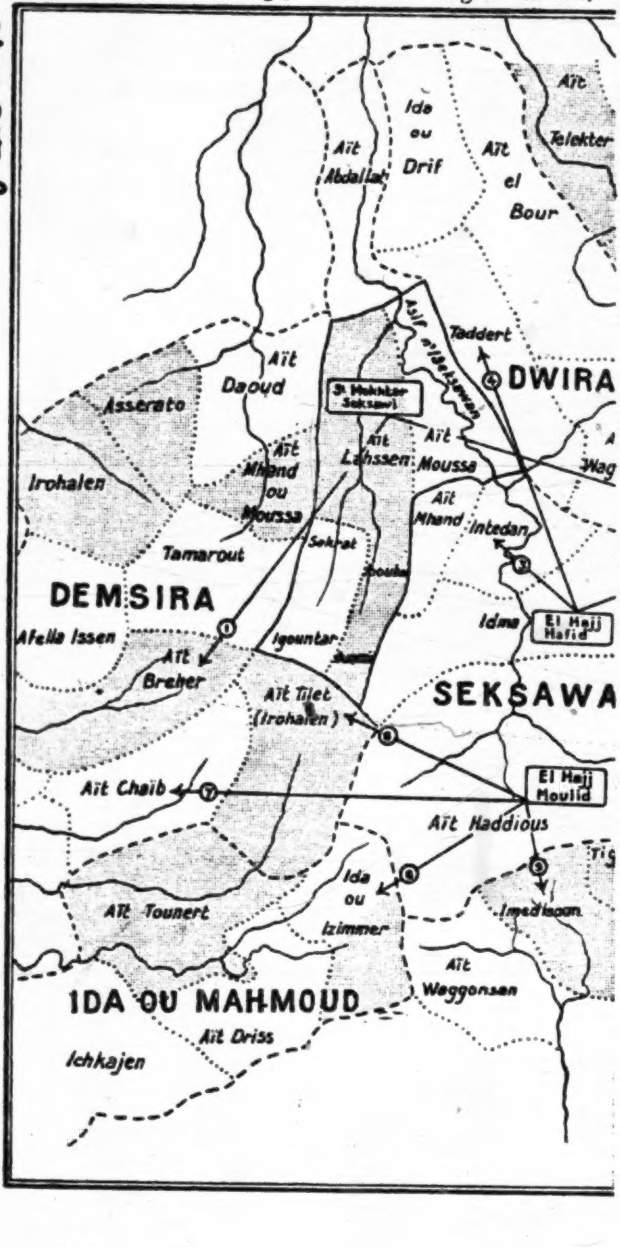
/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*634
616


Plateau du KIK
OUZGITA
Tamzmiz
Tizi n Tagourramt
Imaghiren
Azzaden
Dj. Ouanou Krim
4.300
Wirgan
Aït Hasein
Tikent
Virzan
Dj Erdouz
Adrar n'Gourza
Tizi n'Iaïn
Adrar n'Tachemnacht
ASIF NEFIS
Aït Zitoun
Aghren
OGDEMT
Taghorist
Tagemout
Talat
Agoundis
Oukoum
R
Tiznit
1.310
Tizi n'Wicheddan
Adrar n'Wicheddan
Mouldiert
Adrar n'Tichki
ONEIN
TIFNOUT

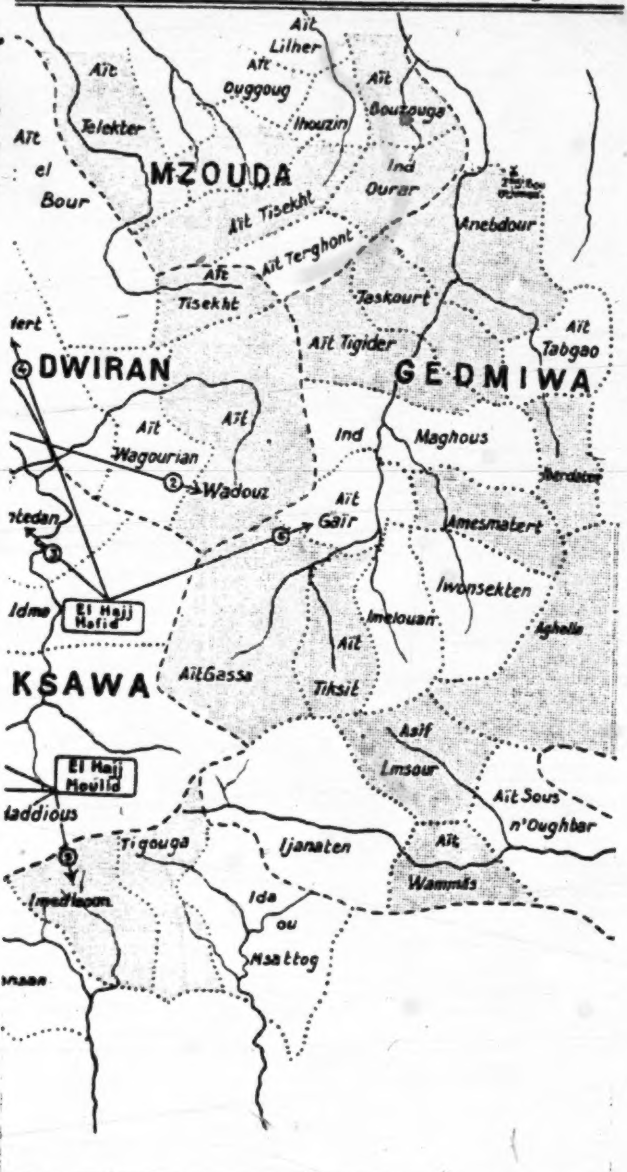
/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*634
616


Aït Telekter
Ida ou Drif
Aït Abdallah
Aït el Bour
Asif el Seksawa
Taddert
DWIRA
Aït Daoud
Asserato
Si Mokhtar Seksawi
Aït Lahssen
Aït Moussa
Aït Mhand ou Moussa
Irohalen
Aït Mhand
Intedan
Sekrat
Tamarout
Zbouda
DEMSIRA
Idma
El Hajj Hafid
Afella Issen
Igountar
Aït Breher
Aït Tilet (Irohalen)
SEKSAWA
Aït Chaib
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Haddious
Ida ou Izimmer
Imedlawn
Aït Tounert
Aït Waggonsan
IDA OU MAHMOUD
Aït Driss
Ichkajen
Wag

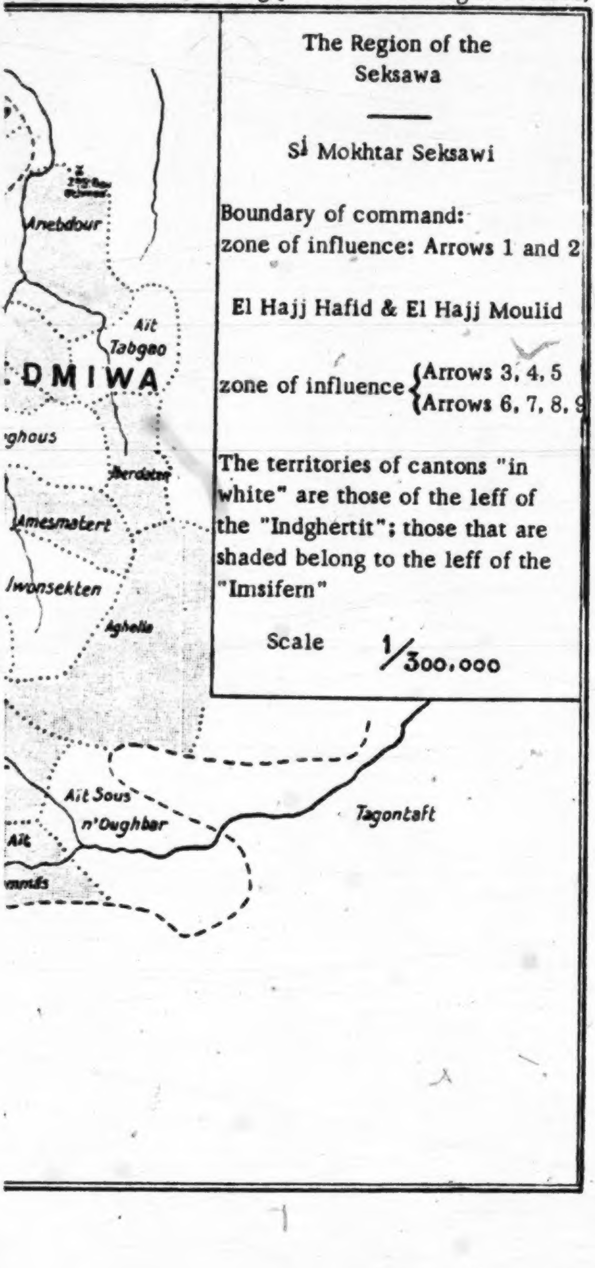
/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*634
616


Aït Lilher
Aït Ouggoug
Aït Telekter
Ihouzin
Aït Bouzouga
Aït el Bour
MZOUDA
Ind Ourar
Aït Tisekht
Aït Terghont
Anebdour
Aït Tisekht
Taskourt
Aït Tigider
Aït Tabgao
DWIRAN
GEDMIWA
Aït Wagourian
Aït
Ind
Maghous
Wadouz
Aït Gaïr
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
El Hajj Hafid
Idma
Imelouan
Aït Tiksit
Aghelle
KSAWA
AïtGassa
Asif Lmsour
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Sous n'Oughbar
Tigouga
Ijanaten
Aït Wammas
Imedlaoun
Ida ou Msattog

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
• 133
* 634
616


Anebdour
Ait Tabgao
DMIWA
ghous
Aerdaten
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
Aghellis
Ait Sous n'Oughbar
Ait
Tagontaft

The Region of the Seksawa

Si Mokhtar Seksawi

Boundary of command:
zone of influence: Arrows 1 and 2

El Hajj Hafid & El Hajj Moulid

zone of influence {Arrows 3, 4, 5
{Arrows 6, 7, 8, 9

The territories of cantons "in white" are those of the leff of the "Indghertit"; those that are shaded belong to the leff of the "Imsifern"

Scale 1/300,000

175 /312 cont./

*634 their wishes to him" (1).

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1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

[178] Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 *634 619 616 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 616 121 648 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 •133 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./
*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
•[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys"
(1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Saᶜd
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in
the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman,
159 a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated
the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for
him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti,
established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
*634 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
726 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
*631 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
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generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually 000
consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms 342
built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt 351
to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact 361
village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, [137]
1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great [343]
Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins
University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton,
1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly
figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the 137
Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it 133 •
encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass
steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing [132]
aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. [241]
The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the [361]
sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the
Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend 101
as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much 131
mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn
with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648),
Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal
(658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and
Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated [312]
in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is [361]
confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and 241
consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds,
fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members
of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own 233
large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and
mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one 197
passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become 361
more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The
Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the
Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the
Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya
(652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first